

**INSIDE: THE HORROR OF CHILD MURDERS**

# Maclean's

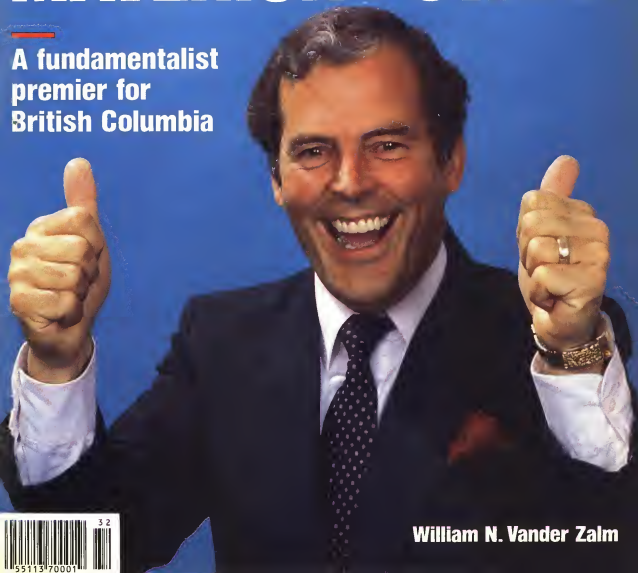
AUGUST 11, 1986

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.75

## MAVERICK POWER!

**A fundamentalist  
premier for  
British Columbia**



**William N. Vander Zalm**





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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

AUGUST 11, 1986 VOL. 80 NO. 32

## COVER

### Maverick Power!

Despite the opposition of the party establishment, maverick William Vander Zalm vaulted to the leadership of the B.C. Social Credit party and prepared to take office as the province's 27th premier. The ex-laborer nursery owner defeated 11 opponents in four ballots at a 30-second convention—with the help of one of his chief rivals.

—Page 10

COVER PHOTO BY PHIL TOLIN



**The shaping of Limestone**  
The \$1.94-billion Limestone Hydro project in northern Manitoba is the largest construction project in Canada this year, attracting workers from across the country. —Page 34



**The horror of child murders**  
A slain 12-year-old girl's made body prompted a massive police hunt for her killer and focused attention on other cases that involve missing children. —Page 40



**The Commonwealth crisis**  
British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's opposition to sanctions against South Africa threatened to split the Commonwealth at this week's summit. —Page 24



**Bringing soul to the screen**  
With a shrewd grasp of both business and art, Peter O'Brien, producer of *My American Cousin*, has emerged as one of Canada's most respected film-makers. —Page 53

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## LETTERS

### A complex matter

Peter C. Newman's column "Ballast from a corporate breakup" (Business Week, July 28) does disservice to your readers. Typically, by personalizing the issues, he trivializes complex matters. Newman's characterization of Wood Gundy Inc. chairman Ted Modiolan as a "bribe taker" begins to dismantle the intricate, interlocking relationships that underlie the industry. It is not clear whether, in fact, if it were not so overblown and ridiculous, there is no dominant Canadian house, but Wood Gundy remains among the few persistently influential firms. No single disempowerment as individual can "incite" such an operation, however. Peter C. Newman's analysis might be better placed in the pages of *Maclean's* or *Post*, where it can have more impact on the "breakup" industry it absurdly transacted. Today, the financial marketplace operates within a global context. Canadian investment banks are being challenged on their home turf by foreign universal banks, by the likes of Citicorp, and are being nibbled by Canadian chartered banks. To assert, as Newman does, that Wood Gundy's initiative was determined by the success of Gordon Capital Corp., a highly speculational multinational and corporate equity house— itself not particularly well positioned to operate in international markets— is, at best, to close two doors and open three.

—A. G. TITLER,  
Chairman & Chief Executive Officer,  
—THOMAS E. KERRANS,  
President,  
McLeod Young Weir,  
Toronto



### Native independence

was very aware that in "The Independent Spirit" ("A Canadian Tragically, Coer," July 14) you left out a very important step that Inuit have taken toward retaining their language and culture. That is the formation of the Inuit Broadcasting Corp. (IBC), funded by the federal government. Inuit are producing and broadcasting 8h hours per week of television programming in their own language, reflective of their own culture. Inuit chose to use television to their advantage, rather than passively accept the programming imposed on them. Inuit are now producing their own news and public-affairs programming, and are able to pay their own advertising rates, similar to public television in the U.S. — DORIS MCGOWAN, Saskatoon

Executive Director,  
INC,  
Chicago

local artists on Canadian Indian issues an important opportunity to promote political change in favour of Indian development. You made no mention of the Cree-Naskapi (of Quebec) Act, which created new local Indian governments that have been self-governing for almost two years. One of them is the successful Wapikwanik Band, to which you devoted a special article without discussing its political status. It would have been good for your readers to learn that Indian self-government is an operating reality in Canada, providing concrete evidence that "communitarianism" can become a reality of these

—DOUG C. WRETLAND,  
Director,  
Northern Quebec Client  
Implementation Secretariat,  
M.A.F. Que.

Letters are edited and may be condensed.  
 Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean Master Bldg., 777 Bay St. Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

## PASSAGES

**INDICTED:** Actor Griffin O'Neal, 29, for manslaughter and five lesser charges related to a May 26 boating accident in Edgewater, Md., in which Gian Carlo Coppola, 23, son of movie director Francis Ford Coppola, was killed, by a grand jury. In Anne Arundel county court in Annapolis, Md. O'Neal, the son of actor Ryan O'Neal, will be tried in September. If convicted of manslaughter he faces a five-year maximum prison term.

**MARRIED** Tennis star John McEnroe, 21, who is scheduled to headline the Player's International Tennis Championships in Toronto from Aug. 9 to Aug. 17, and actress Tatum O'Neal, 20, the sister of Griffin O'Neal, 10 weeks after the birth of their son, Kevin, at Saint Dominick's Catholic Church at Cypar Bay, Long Island, N.Y.

**MR. Dependant Bruce Rankin**, 48, who from 1976 to 1981 was Canada's outgoing ambassador to Japan, of course, in Moscow, Ont. Rankin's postings with the Canadian Foreign Service included the cities of Sydney, Bombay, Madrid and New York. From 1964 to 1979 he was ambassador to Venezuela and the Dominican Republic, then returned to New York in 1980 for six years as consul general. After he completed his assignment in Japan, Rankin moved back to Canada and worked as a consultant to several companies.

**OSCAR** is the Supreme Court of Canada, that the firm's profits and not of consumed \$2.5 million. **CHIFFORD** **OSCAR**, 45, will not have to relinquish the \$100,000 the police paid him to lead them to his victims, in Ottawa. The court refused to hear an appeal from parents of the dead children who claimed the money after **OSCAR** was sentenced to life imprisonment in a Kingston, Ont., penitentiary in January, 1962. The decision upheld the B.C. Court of Appeal's ruling in March, 1960, that the money was not intended to compensate the families. **B.C. Supreme Court**, the first to consider the issue, ruled that the money was for the families in 1964, saying that the payment went against the legal principle that criminals should not profit from their crimes.

**APPOINTED** Brian Anthony, 42, to the post of executive director of Charlotte's Confederation Centre of the Arts, which houses several theatres and sponsors a variety of cultural programs, including the Charlotte Festival and the touring company of *Anne of Green Gables*, effective in October. Anthony, currently the national director of the Canadian Conference of the Arts, said that he "faced a considerable challenge to set the centre on a firm footing."

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## Cooler.



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# The roots of terror

Five modern writers are as prolific, or as popular, as Stephen King, a contemporary American master of the macabre. Paperback sales alone of his tales of horror and the supernatural exceed 30 million copies, and even of his best-selling novels—Carrie, Salem's Lot, The Shining, The Dead Zone, Firestarter, Cujo and Christine—have been made into movies. But none, the 50-year-old King has turned his hand to as new project—directing the film version of one of his stories. Based on a short story, *Trucks*, which was published in a 1979 collection titled *Night Shift*, the movie, released May 24, 1989, opens last week across Canada. Maclean's nonpareil Elia Stutler interviewed King while he attended a recent gathering of murder mystery aficionados in upstate New York.

**Maclean's:** Why did you decide to direct? **King:** I have been asked off and on for years if I was interested in directing pictures, and I readily was not, except that a lot of movies had been made out of my books, and people kept coming up

and saying, 'It's not like the novel.' So I started to wonder.

**Maclean's:** Did you find it difficult to make the transition from being a solitary writer to working with a cast and film crew?

**King:** It's like being the captain of a ship. There are people in your face all the time. They say these things all at the same time: 'What do you want me to do?' 'This is not my fault.' 'How do I fix this?' And the other thing that they all say is, 'It would be better if you did it this way.' For somebody who has never directed a movie before, the last is the most subversive, because you really don't know a person who doesn't listen to other people as a fool, but a person who listens to everybody is also a fool.

**Maclean's:** What was a day of shooting like for you? **King:** I worked 24 hours a day. I would get up, go to the location and I would see the men coming up red. I would go home at night and see the sun going down red. Then, I would fall into bed and get up the next day and do it all again.

**Maclean's:** In the final product yours?

**King:** It is mine. I am not sure that it is good, but it is mine. There is no question about it. People will recognize me in it in a way that they have not in the others. **Maclean's:** The nightmarish situations of your books frayed on an intimate, personal level. Do you have a special understanding of what most scares and fascinates your audience?

**King:** I am the audience. I have the perfect middle-American mind, that is why I have been so successful. I always write for an audience of one, myself.

**Maclean's:** How would you describe your writing?

**King:** I write dark situation comedies. I create a situation that is like a bus-mock, then I lighten the wheels until it snaps, and the story is over. It never occurs to me to plot. I just put together all the elements that are combustible, and I stand back and see what happens. The story will work on its own if I supply the right elements.

**Maclean's:** You are known for the speed and volume of your writing. Does writing come easily to you?

**King:** David Letterman once made a joke on his Late Night [tv] show. 'Well, here it is Jan. 4, and Stephen King hasn't published a book this year.' I do a lot of books, but I also do lots of drafts, and I have lots of false starts. The process is always the same: draft, redraft, final draft and then all the editorial stuff

that comes after that. The finished product is usually pretty polished.

**Maclean's:** In your book, *Dance Macleane* (1987), you composed talent to a dull laugh that blacks and blondes and eventually breaks itself unless it can be diligently fixed. Can you describe the laughing process?

**King:** It is like sharpening a pencil. Sooner or later you are used up—there's all there is to it. Eventually you will run out of things to say and start repeating yourself. Those of us who are sensible shut up and are content. And those of us who are not, are forced to shut up. Sometimes it takes a gas to the head to do it, like Hemingway. But until that time you just start with the urge to tell stories.

**Maclean's:** What do you do if you feel that it is time to avoid yourself—shift your theme?

**King:** I never deliberately set out to write in any particular genre. Sometimes you see a change in the kind of scenes you are writing. I have written a science fiction novel, that will be published in about a year and a half, called *The Tommyknockers*. And in a way, it, which is going to be published this fall, is my final examination, my coming up, my last word specifically about monsters, children and grownups and how these three things relate. That's something that my fiction has talked about since Salem's Lot [1975], maybe



King: 'Children accept everything'

since *Carrie* [1974]. The novels that I have written since I have had very little to do with children.

**Maclean's:** How does described children as the perfect audience for horror, because they deal with fantasy on its own terms.

**King:** They see everything, they accept everything and they don't look for the hidden. They will reach for myth rather than credibility. For instance, you may say to yourself, 'Does anybody really believe that Haezel and Gretel's father could be haunted by his second wife to take his children out into the woods and leave them there to starve and die?' Could you believe on your adult rational level that this man would do that, given his love for the children? The answer is no, absolutely not. Children have no trouble with that concept at all. They react for the myth.

**Maclean's:** Your books, then, speak not much to the adults or the teenagers, as to the children and their world?

**King:** From the beginning I have always thought to myself, if you are going to scare people, you have to turn them back into children again. That is why I have used so many child protagonists. One of the ways to turn that audience back into children is to make that cathartic reaction happen between the adult reader and the child in the story. □

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## AN AMERICAN VIEW

# Invading the nation's bedrooms



By Fred Bruning

**D**etermined to keep the subject from becoming a purely academic exercise, the U.S. Supreme Court justices recently proclaimed themselves squarely against the private practice of homosexuality. Their declaration no doubt will profoundly diminish the moral confusion and sexual randomness that so characterizes the American nation and, for all we know, might even prompt the misguided to repeat: As everyone is aware, homosexuals want nothing more deeply in life than to be like the rest of us, if only the poor, lonely, lonely boys. With the Supreme Court providing guidelines, guys at last can get back on track. By autumn San Francisco most likely will be a forgotten city.

What prompted the court to act with such vigor in regard to a Georgia antistatutory law is difficult to say. Did the magistrates now take a field trip and stumble randomly into an unwelcome bar? AIDS, perhaps, has the judges on edge or maybe they are tired of all those male skin magazines cluttering the newsstands. There is, of course, just as much chest hair and leather underwear a respected jurist can be expected to tolerate while searching for the latest edition of *Reader's Digest*. Let the American Psychiatric Association smug as it did recently, that homosexuality is not a mental disorder. Like many of their countrymen, the justices seem singularly unacquainted. You don't feel the Supreme Court of the United States quite that easily.

Regardless of the numerous antihomosexual statutes that might have affected the majority's decision, one is led to believe that the five assenting justices were, in the main, grossed out, as the editors say, by the sordid matters confronting them. At issue was the Georgia law, which criminalized sodomy by its provisions. In 1982 Michael Hardwick, an Atlanta bartender, was in the bedroom of his home with a companion when a police officer arrived on another business. Bad officer peeked into Hardwick's chamber and there spied the bartender and his friend performing sodomy—a transaction that so threatened the foundations of Western civilization that the officer generously arrested both practitioners.

The case never was tried, but when the local prosecutor hinted he might take action in the future, Hardwick, 22, challenged Georgia's antistatutory law. A federal appeals court agreed with the bartender, ruling, in essence, that while the state could quite properly regulate public decency and assure traffic regulations, it had no business dictating adult sexual activity.

Certainly, if state lawmakers possess any special expertise in the area of human sexuality, they have been reluctant thus far to acknowledge their skills. To the contrary, politicians would have us believe that they live like monks during those unbearably long legislative sessions—dryness, really, when the diligent public servant must spend long evenings away from home pondering budget figures or drafting speeches on Americanism. Better that these humble friars abstain themselves from discussions of bedroom manners lest they increase their risk of cardiovascular disorder.

Perhaps AIDS has the judges on edge or maybe they are tired of all those male skin magazines on the newsstands.

While the lower court saw the merit of Hardwick's plea, the five intrigued Supreme Court justices were not to be swayed. A dissenting judge sought to remind his colleagues that a citizen's most precious right is "the right to be left alone," but the majority shambled forward and voted the Georgia statute. "The proposition that any kind of private sexual conduct between consenting adults is constitutionally insulated from state proscription is unworkable," quoth Mr. Justice Byron R. White said in a footnote that while a state, indeed, had the right to limit the sexual practices of citizens, gay or straight, the court was expressing "no opinion" on heterosexual acts of sodomy. Only negligence, adventure, perjury, the owner's negligence. In Georgia and the 25 other states with similar laws, we are led to believe, males and females are free to proceed undeterred.

The distinction was not lost on gays and their supporters, who responded in language considerably more vivid than White's. In New York, homosexuals held a traffic-blocking rally after the

decision was announced and heard one speaker accuse the high court of going on a "political rampage." The state homosexual rights community also decried the court's endorsement of "Gestapo or KKK tactics," and a man from the New Jersey Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation warned, "The first one who sticks his nose in my bedroom gets it broken off." So far as most are concerned, the ruling marks one thing and one thing only: the Supreme Court had declared homosexuality illegal.

The high court's technique makes perfectly good sense, of course. From now on, magistrates have only to brand unconstitutional any conduct they view as deviant, and we will be relieved forever of this or that antisocial behavior. Surely, for instance, there must be justification for expunging a ban on the smutty practice of electroshock therapy. There is, of course, one certain disadvantage who spend meticulously as their television sets when the New York Mets suffer defeat, and these individuals demand immediate attention. Alarming numbers of our people insist on playing old Little Richard records at high volume—how, let the court be swift and sure in its judgment!—while others think nothing at all of eating peanut butter and banana sandwiches well past the hour of midnight. And what of the mutants who sit in their living rooms and laugh hysterically all the way through President Reagan's press conferences? We can only hope that the justices are equal to the difficult task ahead.

As for the rest of us, we have only to sit back and await the millennium. One will be a truly splendid homeland at that point—gained by the court of all influences that do not enhance "family, marriage or procreation," as Justice White said in his sordidly decisive opinion. The nation's future, then, no great interest in family, marriage or procreation—these may, for better or worse, interpret their needs differently from those that the justices deem appropriate—seems to be seen. Could be that the captives will seek re-bodily and, after a decent interval of pressure and supplication, assume their rightful place in American society. Or it could be they will continue living precisely as they are fit and, legal precedent aside, call themselves *Freud* just for the sake.

Fred Bruning is a writer with Newsday in New York.

# MAVERICK POWER!

CANADA/COVER

**H**e is a hands-on, pragmatic maverick who revels in controversy and blunt talk. He once performed a song that referred to then-Quebec premier René Lévesque as a "fag" and has suggested that welfare recipients should pick up shovels to earn their paycheques. Supported by only three backbenchers, he ran without the backing of a single cabinet minister and most of the Social Credit party hierarchy in his stubborn quest to replace William Bennett as party leader and become the 27th premier of British Columbia. But last week, on the fourth ballot of an extraordinary leadership convention at the picturesque Whistler ski resort 120 km north of Vancouver, William Vander Zalm, 66, a millionaire theatre park owner from the Vancouver suburb of Richmond, outspelled to power with almost twice the votes of his chief rival, provincial Attorney General Brian Smith.

**Groundswell:** For Vander Zalm, the victory was a triumph of the rank and file over the party establishment. "Machines cannot take the place of the grassroots," he proclaimed. But Vander Zalm's win also put an unprecedented and often controversial politician in the premier's chair at a time when both his party and his province are suffering from strains caused by years of confrontational politics. And his tenure of the premiership, after a campaign that included attacks on the political and business establishment in Eastern Canada, injected an uncertain factor into the



Vander Zalm and Bennett are unpredictable and controversial politicians in the premier's chair.

political landscape after a decade of William Bennett's stewardship. The new Social Credit leader inherits a party that the Bennett family has led since 1953 as a coalition of Liberals, Conservatives and old-style Socialists, united by their fear of socialism. As a populist Socialist on the fringe of that coalition, Vander Zalm must make peace with the liberals and firms linked with the party's

established establishment. He must also tackle the pressing problems of his province: mounting labor unrest, 32-per-cent unemployment, plummeting capital spending and the threat of United States protectionist measures against the vital lumber industry (page 12). Vander Zalm, who is expected to be sworn in as premier this week and select a cabinet shortly afterward, will

need all of his heady personal charm to heal his party and ease the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) in an election that must be called by 1985.

Following a meeting with Bennett in Whistler on the morning after his victory, the premier-designate said he did not favor an early general election because "there's a whole lot of work to be done." But Vander Zalm, who does not have a seat in the legislature, accepted an invitation to run in a by-election due in the northern B.C. riding of South Peace River. The riding became vacant with the resignation of former international trade minister Donald Phillips in April.

**Future:** Analysts say that if the former B.C. cabinet minister fails to handle his political problems with finesse, an attribute that has sometimes eluded him in the past, the 36-year-old Social credit coalition could hurt. Experts of British Columbia political scientist Ken Caray told Maclean's: "Whether the coalition survives is the great unanswered question."

If it does not, the door would be open for the now under leader Robert Skelly to return to government. The tiny provincial Liberal party could also increase its vote. Any gains for the provincial New Democrats—and the Liberals—would benefit the federal wings of both parties. By contrast, the federal Conservatives, whose provincial party is moribund, have lost influence in British Columbia because Vander Zalm defeated two key leadership candidates who have close ties to the federal Tory party.

Ken federal Tory strategists say that if Vander Zalm loses an election to the NDP and the Liberals, that could further weaken the national party's influence in Canada's third most populous province.

Vander Zalm moderated his antagonistic ways during the last week. In the

policy session, when fellow candidate Grace McCarthy said that she would force the province's \$60,000 welfare recipients to reapply for benefits, Vander Zalm maintained a conspicuous silence. Instead, after his victory, he pointedly talked about the need for peace, saying, "It is going to be a moderate Bill Vander Zalm." Asked about the prospect of strikes by the International Woodworkers of America and the B.C. Government Employees' Union, he declared, "I want to try and put minds to work and hopefully create a peaceful atmosphere."

**Caution:** During the leadership campaign Vander Zalm showcased logging in provincial parks, privatizing liquor stores and possibly. Race-style gambling in resorts such as Whistler. However, after last week's triumph he pledged that he "will use great caution in all areas." An early test of that resolve will come when he meets with his

Smith, who had served as Bennett's principal secretary from April, 1984, to last spring. Both Smith, associated, and almost one with the federal Conservative party. McCarthy was a cabinet veteran—and closer to the traditional populist wing of the party than to the party elite.

In the last week of June a group known as the Top 50 club—composed of 58 wealthy businessmen, such as Canadian Investment Corp. president Peter Brown, who donate to the provincial Socialists—organized a series of meetings with the candidates. Ten of them dutifully showed up, but McCarthy refused to attend—and Vander Zalm was not even invited.

Most of the candidates were senior members of the party establishment. In contrast, Vander Zalm ran openly against the party hierarchy and two political veterans of Ontario's failed



Whistler convention centre: defying the Social Credit party establishment.

nine fellow provincial premiers next week in an annual meeting to discuss such pressing issues as U.S.-Canada free trade talks and proposals to grant a constitutional vote to Quebec. He also reached out to the Social credit establishment. Said Vander Zalm: "I am sure that we are all pulling together. A team is something you build, and we intend to start tomorrow."

Ironically, Vander Zalm owes his stunning convention victory in part to a rival, Bud Smith, a key member of the party machine that he moderated throughout the campaign. Although there were 68 candidates in the race, only four survived major eliminations in the campaign, and the convention chose Vander Zalm, the former McCarthy, the Attorney General Smith and Bud

Big Blue Machine—John Lambarger and Patrick Kinless, who ran the campaigns of Bud and Brian Smith respectively.

**Caution:** In addition to Vander Zalm's endorsement from the mainstream, he once discussed his former cabinet colleagues as "weak-minded" and "gossipy." In 1980 he sharply quit the cabinet, apparently because he believed that Bennett could not win an election. That notion earned him only one candidate, Mel Coville, the mayor of the Victoria suburb of Saanichton, joined him after the first ballot—even though Vander Zalm was, and remained, the front-runner. But after the second ballot, Kinless-pledged Bud Smith, the target of much of Vander Zalm's earlier scorn, unexpectedly walked across the canvas

tion floor to throw his support to the clearly flustered, but delighted, candidate. The weary Smith explained, "I do what I believe is right. The delegates tell me they want renewal, and that is it."

Smith's nose stuffed the 1,300 delegates, his rival candidate and his own campaign team. Cried his shaken campaign manager John Loschinger of Seattle, "It was a tough thing for him to do." McCarthy, still smiling but clearly bewildered, exclaimed, "Confusing, isn't it? Who can understand it? Not me." Attorney General Smith, who had hoped to receive his nemesis's blessing, was astounded.

**Kingsmaker** is that Macdonald has learned that 90 per cent of Bud Smith's delegates had indicated in his tracking surveys that Vander Zalm was their second choice as leader. Bud Smith asked political consultant Knissella for help. Knissella refused—and then joined Bruce Smith as campaign manager.

The support of Bud Smith ensured Vander Zalm's victory. He received a further boost when McCarthy retained Smith from Brian Smith's team to form an anti-Vander Zalm alliance, insisting, "I won't be a part of a 'stop anything' movement." McCarthy organizers also said that she told Brian Smith in a private meeting between the second and third ballots that it would be irresponsible for her to join his former Knissella was a graduate of the Big Blue Machine in Ontario—a favorite target of her campaign speeches. Said McCarthy's campaign manager, Isaac Moss, "She had pointed herself into a corner."

**Passage** When McCarthy was eliminated after the third ballot, she personally freed her delegates to follow their consciences. On the fourth ballot, Vander Zalm had 561 votes compared with Smith's 454. Government minister consultant Gerry Knutson said that the vote revealed the fact that the party's coalition. He told Macdonald's "When

you have the majority of the cabinet and the caucus lined up on one side while the delegates are moving consistently and in large numbers to the other side, you have a party that is following its emotions against the wishes of its elite. Power is a strong glue. But despite the pretensions of support for Vander Zalm, the seniors are there."

Controversy and division have troubled Vander Zalm throughout his political career. Born in the Netherlands in 1934, Vander Zalm's family emigrated to Canada at the end of the Second World War. At 18, Vander Zalm began to run his father's flower bulb business in the

of education. He has a history of polarizing his political constituents. He advocated that Indians should stay on reserves. And he insisted a group of voters compensating for job retraining by saying that they would make better housewives than plumbers.

**Rebels** But Vander Zalm's penchant to speak before he thinks could get him into deep political trouble. Premier Angus Reid, president of Angus Reid Associates, told Macdonald that the Social Credit party already faces an uphill battle against the NDP opposition. Standings in the provincial legislature are 34 Socials, 21 NDP, one Conservative

the majority of respondents rated Vander Zalm as the most trustworthy of the leadership candidates, the most caring for the poor and the best at making compromise. When asked which candidate they preferred as Social Credit leader, 66 per cent selected Vander Zalm.

The numerous premier-designate also owes a major political favor to Bud

Both the NDP and the Liberals are convinced that the premier-designate cannot stay out of political trouble. John Brown, former president of the B.C. NDP, says that Vander Zalm's streak of populism makes him a dangerous opponent who cannot be taken for granted. But he added, "Social Credit has to do everything right to survive—and Vander Zalm is going to

ally have had in 35 to 40 years," said Austin. "I think they have a real chance of electing members."

The outgoing Premier Zalm also supports the formation of the new Conservative party—in the endorsement of the federal Tories. Premier Tully Leader Peter Pallen bluntly told Macdonald that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney does not want the provincial party to revive the Tories.

"He looks upon the provincial Tories as a continuing disease."

**Reconciling** Aversion to socialism—and a set of largely forgotten monetary theories—lies at the heart of Vander Zalm's unique party. The Social Credit movement began as an economic doctrine formulated after the First World War by an eccentric Anglo-Scottish engineer, May Clifford Hugh Douglas. He argued that economic hardship existed because people did not have enough money to purchase the goods that the economy was producing. He suggested that governments issue a "social credit"—a type of credit note to buy needed goods. The all-best prescription attracted the fervent attention of Alberta evangelist William Abernethy, who led his new Social Credit party to provincial power in 1935. Although the Socials remained in power in Alberta until 1970, they were failed in their attempts to implement Douglas's theories, both the courts and the federal government declared that any Social Credit legislation violated Ottawa's constitutional control over currency and banking.

**Abandon** While the Social Credit movement was flourishing in neighboring Alberta, British Columbia was developing a tradition of party politics that pitted socialists against a coalition of anti-socialists. The trend began in 1930 when the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the forerunner of the NDP, became the official opposition to the governing Liberals. When the Liberals won a minority government in 1940, they entered into a formal alliance with the Tories to keep the CCF out of office. The coalition held until 1968 when a renegade Tory, W.A.C. Bennett, severed the reins of the ragtag B.C. Social Credit party and led it to unexpected victory. Although the Social party had existed in British Columbia since 1938, it had never elected a member prior to the 1968 triumph.

A money politician, Bennett promptly abandoned Social Credit's socialist monetary theories. He forged a powerful coalition of Liberals, Tories and old-style Socials—and kept them united through their mutual fear of socialism. His government lasted until 1972, when the NDP won. However, Bennett kept his year later, after a low-key and unimpressive campaign. Bennett's son,



Brian Smith, Vander Zalm and Bud Smith (right) has with the federal Tories

Fraser Valley. Four years later he took over Art Knapp's Garden Centre, built it into a thriving chain, and in 1981 sold it. Meanwhile, he was experimenting with politics. In 1969 he ran as a Liberal Liberal in Surrey—and lost to the NDP's Barry Martin. In 1969 he ran as mayor of Surrey—and won. In 1972 he ran for the leadership of the provincial Liberals and lost, largely because of a nomination speech in which he called for strong leadership to use society from "abolition or reformation" and attacked welfare recipients.

In 1975 he won the election as the Social MLA from Surrey and promptly entered cabinet as the minister of human resources. Before his resignation in 1980, he went on to hold the posts of municipal affairs minister and minister

with one vacancy. In four Reid surveys conducted between January and late June, the provincial NDP consistently held about 40 per cent of the decided voters, the Socials had about 38 per cent, the Liberals ranged from one to nine per cent and the Tories held about seven per cent. Moreover, Reid said that most of the "young" voters who have no traditional loyalty to B.C. provincial election come from the 10 to 15 per cent of the electorate that usually votes for the Liberals in a federal election. Reid argues that these federal Liberals are more likely to vote for a moderate Social Credit leader.

Vander Zalm still appears to be popular with the average voter. In a Marked Marking Research Inc. poll taken last month for the Vancouver Sun,



McCarthy, trying to hold together a coalition of disparate interest groups

Smith who, in turn, may be able to exert some moderating influence—and interest Vander Zalm in modern election techniques. Vander Zalm was the leader-crisis without a party machine competitor. One of his sole concessions to organization was a dog-eared, plasticated list of delegates. Smith may also help to end the rift between Vander Zalm and the party's fund-raising elite.

Is the party's No. 1 Club? "This is the best chance that the Liber-

have to not make a mistake for the first time in his life over an extended period with a lot of pressure on him."

**Polls** As for the Liberals, B.C. strategist Senator Jack Austin told Macdonald that British Columbians want an end to the left-right polarization. Party polls he asked, now that 46 per cent of the electorate is dissatisfied with both the Social Credit and the NDP. "This is the best chance that the Liber-



William, succeeded him on the first ballot at a leadership convention.

As the new leader of a flagging party, the junior Bennett, with the help of Grace McCarthy, painstakingly rebuilt his father's coalition—and won the elections of 1970, 1975 and 1980. But after a narrow victory in 1979, the Bennett team studied political organizations throughout the United States and Canada. In addition to adopting modern election organization techniques, Bennett imported Kinsella from Ontario, where he had served the Conservatives under William Davis as his 1982 election campaign manager.



Delegates at Whistler; machines cannot take the place of the grassroots.

Meanwhile, throughout his 16½ years as premier, Bennett oversaw and built seven magisterial worth \$12 billion—including the \$600-million Skytrain through downtown Vancouver. In 1983 he slashed budgets for social services and cut the civil service by 15 per cent.

Those economists strained the social fabric of the province. Many rank-and-file party supporters, and some members of the Soerel caucus in Victoria, privately complained that nonsectarian advisers, including Bud Smith, were isolating Bennett from them. Meanwhile, the restraint program costed deep rifts between the Tories and the have-nots, between government and labor and between business and labor. Bud B.C. Federation of Labor president Ari Korte "The Bennett government made racist, racist attacks against the social contract that exists

between the public and government."

By last April private party polls showed the Soerels lagging 18 points behind the Tories. Although that gap had narrowed to nine points by mid-May, Bennett strongly expressed his retirement on May 22, less than a month after the triumphant opening of Expo 86. "The time to leave politics is when things are good," he maintained. "Right now the times are good."

His party greeted his departure with public shock and sorrow—and private relief. Strained for decades from the basic monetary policies of Social Credit, the party had come to be strongly

and all my soul will be with you."

Vander Zalm is going to need all the help that he can muster to tackle the problems that Bennett left behind—and that his own election created. The premier-designate must craft a new cabinet that smooths over rifts generated during the campaign—and modifies every segment of the coalition he must also tackle the daunting problems on his desk—including negotiating a new contract with the militant 40,000-member B.C. Government Employees' Union.

To add to Vander Zalm's problems, there is the looming threat of U.S. protectionist measures. Last May U.S.

President Ronald Reagan slapped a 26-per-cent import duty on Canadian cedar shakes and shingles—a move that could cost up to 4,000 B.C. jobs. Now the U.S. commerce department is considering whether to impose import penalties on Canadian softwood lumber, a decision due in October. That trade is valued at \$15 billion a year, most of it originating in British Columbia. Throughout last week's leadership convention, Vander Zalm repeatedly assailed Eastern Canada for its reluctance to support free trade with the United States—and vowed that British Columbia will press for progress in current trade negotiations between Ottawa and Washington. Declared Vander Zalm: "I ask you, would there be a surcharge on cedar shakes if they were made in Ontario?"

Undoubtedly, Vander Zalm's most persistent problem may be to keep his smoldering coalition together. Last week, on the day of the convention vote, Bennett held a private breakfast meeting with all 12 of the leadership aspirants. The retiring premier urged them to support the convention choice. He pointed out that his recent polls show the Soerels ahead of the Tories—and he advised the aspirants to communicate on the next provincial election. Later the premier stressed that he had left a sealed envelope—and "I do not think there will be any second choice." And a decisive leadership convention, Social Credit supporters could only hope that Bennett's assessment was right.

—MARY FANIKIAN with JANE O'HARA and JOHN HOWSE in Whistler; MARK BUDGEN in Vancouver; and MARK BUDGEN and HEATH HICKENESS in Osoyoos



Expo 86: a trade threat, labor problems and a shortage of nurses

is taking over the leadership of the B.C. Social Credit party last week, William Vander Zalm also became host of the province's biggest-ever party, Expo 86. The rule will bring the premier-designate a measure of reflected glory as long as Canadian and foreign visitors flood into the five-month, \$1.8-billion transportation and communications fair on Vancouver's False Creek. But after the party ends Oct. 13, the new provincial government will be left with a potentially painful legacy: Expo chairman James Pattison has set changed his January, 1988, prediction that the fair will lose about \$300 million.

Closing up after Expo is only one problem: the new premier will face British Columbia has still not recovered from the recession of the early 1980s, and declining prices for its own exports—lumber and minerals—have clouded the province's economic future. Among the new leader's biggest challenges:

**Unemployment.** At 11 per cent, compared with 8.1 per cent nationally, the B.C. unemployment rate is the third-highest in the country, behind Newfoundland and New Brunswick. Rick Allen, chief economist of the B.C. Central Credit Union, said the end of Expo—will push up unemployment at least through the first quarter of 1987.

**Labor relations.** The key to attracting new investment in the province, said James Makin, president of the Business Council of British Columbia, an employers' group, is good labor relations. But last week labor leaders were in an angry

mod—as they have been since 1982 when Bennett set up a Compensation Stabilization Board empowered to roll back public sector wage settlements if conditions eroded. A strike by 11,000 members of the 34,000-strong International Woodworkers of America continued at selected forest products firms. Still to come: the assumption of talks between the government and the 40,000-member B.C. Government Employees' Union, which has a strike mandate from 55 per cent of its members.

**Business uncertainty.** Between 1981 and 1985 annual capital investment in British Columbia declined to \$8.5 billion from \$12 billion. It would have dropped even lower had it not been for the government's spending on projects such as Expo. Vancouver's Skytrain rapid transit system and the Coquitlam highway in the province's interior. Bud economist Allen: "The private sector has not been the engine of growth it was supposed to be when the government implemented restraint more than three years ago." But the economy would be devastated if Washington goes ahead with tariffs on the \$2 billion worth of softwood lumber exported to the United States each year. Allen said that the tariff, currently under study by the U.S. commerce department, could cause

thousands of layoffs.

**Health care.** Three years ago, government cutbacks forced British Columbia's 124 hospitals to lay off hundreds of nurses. Now there is a critical shortage, partly because experienced general-duty nurses make only \$14.85 an hour—compared with \$24.32 in Ontario. The 535 vacant positions represent more than twice the number a year ago. "Health care is a hands-on business, and the hands are going missing," said Jerry Miller, a spokesman for the B.C. Nurses Union.

**Education.** Last year amid public protest over cutbacks in education spending, the entire Vancouver school board was fired for refusing to comply with a ministry of education order to reduce its budget. This year boards have the power for the first time in five years to draw on residential property taxes to meet increased costs, but many educators see that as a stopgap measure that won't solve the problem of education funding. Bud Eric Buckley, president of the B.C. School Trustees' Association: "We can't continue borrowing from crisis to crisis."

But of all the problems facing the new premier, the most sobering may be emigration. In 1980, 40,000 more people came to the province than moved away. Last year the number of people leaving exceeded the number arriving by 2,000. Stammering that outward flow—and reversing the kind of optimism symbolized by Expo 86—may be Vander Zalm's biggest challenge.

—RAY CORRELL with MARK BUDGEN and HEATH HICKENESS in Osoyoos

# TURNING ADVERSITY TO ADVANTAGE

COVER

**W**illiam Vander Zalm had been in the B.C. cabinet less than two years, but it was long enough to make him the province's most controversial politician. Standing with his cabinet colleagues, he was just about to address the 1977 annual meeting of the Social Credit's first session in downtown Vancouver's Hyatt Regency Hotel. Suddenly, a woman emerged from the crowd of delegates, rushed forward and threw a pie in his direction. Her aim was good, but the target remained cool. Wiping the pie from his face, Vander Zalm smiled and said, "Mum, a banana cream, my favorite."

**Calvin** Transforming personal adversity into gains is characteristic of the 58-year-old millionaire. Born in the Netherlands, he fought off hunger during the Nazi occupation by eating tulip bulbs. Decades later he developed a reputation as a loose-lipped, anywhere campaigner. "I argue I am able to work but refuse to pick up a shovel, we will find ways of dealing with him," he said moments after being sworn in as minister of human resources in December, 1976. The public uproar that followed only spurred Vander Zalm to escalate his campaign. A conservative marketeer, he turned the shovel into a personal symbol and auctioned off real shovels as well as selling gold lapel-pins wearing them. The shovel sales raised \$25,000 for the Social Credit party. Last week, he told *Maclean's* his fourth-best victory over his better-organized opponents was "the triumph of the shovel over the machine."

As to the campaign trail, convention delegate Alvin Lambrecht from Central

Fraser Valley was still wearing one of the old lapel pins and remembered paying \$500 for one of the shovels. Sold Lambrecht. "I am a real fan."

The colorful and charismatic Vander Zalm has many fans. According to opinion polls conducted for the Vancouver Sun and BC TV on the eve of the

children learn how to "write good."

Vander Zalm moved to British Columbia from the Netherlands with his family when he was 13, and he still has a slight Dutch accent. His father had a heart attack when Vander Zalm was 18, and he took over the family's Fraser Valley flower bulb business. Four years later he bought an established floral nursery and turned it into a successful chain that made him a multimillionaire when he sold the business in 1964. Still, he claims, "I'm just a poor guy from the West, a little guy from the country."

**Political oases:** He and his wife, Lillem, 56, have been married for 36 years, and Vander Zalm still calls her "sweetheart." He also refers to her as his "secret weapon" and her seat for life and campaigning have been a definite political asset. For her part, Lillem says that he never loses his temper, refuses to worry over things he cannot control and always remembered to call home every night at 11 when he was working in Victoria, the provincial capital, and she was living in Vancouver.

"He never mind once," she said. The Vander Zalm have four children, one of whom works at Fantasy Garden World in Richmond, near Vancouver, the \$7-million theme park that they are developing after purchasing an established botanical gardens. Daughter Jaanika wrote and sang the Vander Zalm campaign theme song giving one last condition for the convention delegates after her father was.

Vander Zalm joined the Social Credit party in 1964, two years after falling to win the B.C. Liberal leadership. At the time, he was the mayor of Surrey,

a Vancouver suburb. Earlier he ran unsuccessfully for the Liberals in the 1960 federal election. He suffered another defeat two years ago when he tried to unseat popular Vancouver Mayor Michael Harcourt.

When he made the move to Social Credit in 1974, the party was in opposition under William Bennett. A year later Bennett was premier and Vander Zalm, representing the riding of Surrey, was his minister of human resources, also serving as minister of municipal affairs and minister of education. For eight years until he resigned in 1982, he held left provincial politics just before the 1980 provincial election. Political analysts said that the unshakable confidence Vander Zalm was tired of waiting for Bennett to step down.

When Bennett announced that he intended to resign the leadership, Vander Zalm and his wife were living in a trailer and working 16 hours a day at their Fantasy Garden World. In addition to the rides and botanical gardens now open to the public, Fantasy Garden will unveil a habitat garden this summer featuring a floral display depicting two pages of an open bible. A devout fundamentalist, Vander Zalm declared at the beginning of his leadership campaign, "I want to bring to government high moral standards based on true Christian principles."

**Rhetoric** During the campaign, Vander Zalm turned down his rhetoric. But he criticized Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's June 20 cabinet shuffle because "all the money poured went to Quebec." He apparently overlooked the fact that Finance Minister Michael Wilson represents a Metro Toronto riding and to prevent Vander Zalm from making any additional embarrassing comments, his advisers convinced him to speak from prepared notes when he was addressing the convention delegates. Earlier he said in an interview that he had only once before delivered a prepared speech and that he did not intend to do again at the convention.

Vander Zalm remains an important politician. In fact, he once said, "I don't necessarily feel comfortable in government." During the campaign he described himself as "someone who, when I take things on, want to get things done." "I don't think that things are impossible." That impatience has put him on the political defensive in the past. But he has usually turned it to his advantage. With difficult economic times and a provincial election on the horizon, Vander Zalm will have a good opportunity to demonstrate that he can do it again.

—MICHAEL MURPHY with JANE O'HARA and JOHN EDMOND in Vancouver

# EXCERPTS FROM THE RECORD

**British Columbia's premier-designate** William Vander Zalm rose to prominence during the past decade with a politician's flair for talk that made headlines. His most noteworthy comments on public issues were made during his years as a provincial cabinet minister, when he served successfully in the portfolios of

Human Resources in charge of social services (1975-1979), Municipal Affairs (1979-1983) and Education (1983-1985). But he was often an adroit during the campaign that paved him the leadership path. In rough chronological order, some of his memorable statements from the past decade on a range of issues:

**Provinces** "The individual least reliant on the state is the front of all."

**Welfare** "Cutting off the way bread should eliminate a few of the happy consequences."

**Deserting fathers** "Why should we continually have to jump in and rescue the children as the wife because he went off somewhere else?"

**Quebec** following the Parti Quebecois election victory in November, 1976 "If we make a decision to separate it won't cost me any sleepless nights."

**Politicians** in response to a complaint in the legislature about a young barman player selling money on a Victoria street "That's initiative."

**The unemployed** "If anybody is able to want but refuse to pick up the shovel, we will find ways of dealing with him."

**Germbling** "I can't stand to see others lose money, much less lose it myself."

**Human resources** "What is it we're doing? Selling, marketing, that's the name of the game in everything."

**The system** "We unfortunately have a system where people are not reward-

ed for what they do or what they produce but how effectively they can put pressure on the economy."

**Political opponents** after television coverage showed him sharing back his long sideburns during the leadership campaign "I cut off 1 1/2 inches and got four minutes on TV. I left the other 1/2 inches so that I'll get another four minutes when I decided to shave them."

**Electronomics** "It is getting me sleep and living on doughnut holes."

**Leadership** "Most leaders take pills, then decide how to lead. I believe in leading first."

**The environment** "Few realize that Tweedsmuir [provincial] Park is the size of France. Yet you can't enter it or log it. If we don't go in and out, nature will take care of it with big infestations and fires."

**Public membership** "Is there any reason the government should be in the business of dispensing liquor? We can regulate it without raising it."

**Delegations** "I will not set up a ministry of delegations. You don't

set up one bureaucracy to check on another."

**Bureaucrats** "It is not in their interests to advise people. If they did, what then, would have to go out and look for real work."

**The party** "The party establishment would feel better with the status quo."

**Party unity** "I don't think you can avoid some splitting apart when you own one of a hard campaign. There is going to be a splintering of hard feelings."

**Political debts** "There are no pre-negotiated debts. A cabinet pact or a consulting job won't be traded, it will be earned."

**Speaking out** "Show us someone who doesn't cause any controversy and I'll show you someone who isn't doing anything." □



Vander Zalm with wife, Lillem: Just a poor guy from the West!



The premier, 'mum'



Fontaine (center) in Cochrane last week: allegations of a conflict of interest

## Boycotting an Ontario election

Deavouring a breakfast of bacon and eggs in Cochrane, Ont.'s Kopp Corner Cafe, Reel Fontaine was clearly in his element. A hearty francophone who grew up in Ontario's north and made a fortune in the lumber trade, Fontaine chatted amiably about business and the weather with a local dentist, an elderly couple and a group of lumberjacks who had gathered in the wood-paneled truck stop, a landmark in the Northern Ontario town. But the former minister of northern affairs and mines in Ontario's Liberal government became irritated when Maclean's asked him about the controversy that led him to return to his Cochrane North riding, where he was campaigning to regain his seat in the Ontario legislature—and, he hoped, his cabinet post. Fontaine, 53, who resigned on June 26 over conflict-of-interest allegations, would only repeat what he has said since Premier David Peterson called the Aug. 14 by-election: "I am here in front of the

people, and they will be the ones to judge me."

The allegations against Fontaine, coupled with the resignation of his cabinet colleague Brian Caplan, chairman of the provincial management board supervising government spending, over a similar charge only a week earlier, was the first time members of the government have become entangled in controversies about their private affairs since the minority Liberal government came to power in June, 1985. Peterson's decision to accept Fontaine's resignation and call a by-election followed charges by Conservative MPP Andrew Braith that the Mines minister had breached the province's conflict guidelines by failing to declare his stock holdings in resource companies with Ontario interests. Braith said one of the mining companies in which Fontaine held shares received approval for \$81.681 in exploration grants and tax credits from the provincial government.

Peterson said he hoped the byelec-

tion would clear Fontaine's name and that he would probably reappoint a re-elected Fontaine to the cabinet. Both the Conservative and the New Democratic Party then refused to take part in the contest. Solid Conservative Leader Larry Grossman: "I will not be doing anything to legitimize what is clearly a sham."

Still, for many of the 37,000 voters scattered across the sprawling Cochrane North riding, which stretches between Hearst and Cochrane, the allegations against Fontaine are not an issue. Fontaine told an all-party committee on July 24 that he was "just a little Frenchman from Northern Ontario" and that he was "sorry I owned all this." He also said that he had simply forgotten to disclose the 17,172 shares he held in Golden Tiger Mining and Exploration Inc., as required by the province's conflict-of-interest guidelines.

Fontaine says that he is surprised that his emotional appeal satisfied his constituents. He told Maclean's: "In the North we deal differently. We trust people, and in Toronto they laugh at that. Well, let them laugh." Bernard Fries, 35, a logging equipment operator in Cochrane, said he cares more about Fontaine's record during his year in office than his business holdings. "I think he's a victim of bad publicity," said Fries. "People here respect him because he looks for the North."

For Peterson's government, retaining the single Liberal seat in Northern Ontario is crucial. Of the other 14 Northern Ontario ridings, the NDP and the Tories hold seven each. Several Liberal cabinet ministers have joined party organizers in campaigning for their beleaguered colleague. And last week Peterson himself toured the North to announce a series of programs for the region's aging economy, visiting Kapuskasing and Hearst to mainstream for Fontaine.

Liberal party organizers say Cochrane North voters will secure Fontaine to the legislature with a landslide. In the absence of Tory and NDP candidates, his only opponents are unaffiliated supporters of special cases, including an anti-nuclear crusader, a physician publicizing his opposition to a government ban on extra-billing and a self-appointed government watchdog from Mississauga, Ont. Not with seven more witnesses, including Peterson, scheduled to testify at hearings into the Fontaine affair in the week of the vote, it was unclear whether he will be reinstated as cabinet minister. Last week he was optimistic. Said Fontaine: "I'm not going through all this for nothing. I've got unfinished business to do for Northern Ontario."

—SHEILA ARGENTRAID in Cochrane



Presenting  
Russian Prince  
vodka.  
The frosty  
spirit of  
old Russia,  
recaptured.

One sip  
should convince  
you.

## Trouble in tranquillity

With Quebec's picture-postcard Laurentian Mountains as a backdrop, negotiating teams from Canada and the United States began their third round of free trade discussions last week in an environment deliberately chosen for its air of tranquillity. During the three days of talks in the resort town of Mont Tremblant, about 150 km north of Montreal, members of both sides dressed informally in slacks and open-neck shirts. The negotiators even played a friendly game of softball. But despite the casual setting, the talks once again appeared threatened by the actions of a U.S. Congress overseas about the country's yawning trade deficit.

The latest irritant was a proposal sponsored by Kansas Republican Robert Dole, the U.S. Senate majority leader, to boost American grain exports over the next five years by subsidizing wheat sales to the Soviet Union and China. The Dole plan, aimed at helping the troubled American grain industry, would permit grain sales to those countries at prices as much as 30 per cent less than the cost of production—undercutting competing sales by Canada, Australia and Argentina.

Last week Prime Minister Brian Mulroney sent a personal letter to President Ronald Reagan urging him to oppose a measure that would cause "serious difficulties for farmers in Canada." But at



Mulroney: the pressure is increasing

week's end the White House, under pressure from farm state congressmen fleeing re-election this fall, announced that Reagan had authorized subsidized grain sales to the Soviet Union. In Mont Trem-

blant chief U.S. negotiator Peter Mancoske acknowledged that he had discussed the grain sales subject with his Canadian counterpart, Simon Holmes, but both sides played down its impact on the talks.

The controversy arose at a time when pressure is increasing on Reagan to reach an early agreement. Privately, Mulroney aides have told associates that they are angry at Holmes's overbearing manner and his insistence on running the talks in his own way. Said one senior official in the Prime Minister's Office: "He is trying to play Henry Kissinger and acting as though he knows more than the leader. If he wants to act the part, he also has to deliver." For his part, Holmes criticized "the nervous Nellies and the wimpsters," adding, "there's nothing that has happened to give them any comfort whatsoever." Brennan predicted that the first exploratory phase would conclude in two months. The detailed bargaining is expected to take an additional year. Said a junior Holmesman: "We are the horses who are going to bring you an historic agreement." Faced with volatile opponents from both Canadian and American fronts, that will be an exceedingly difficult role to play.

—ANTHONY WILSON/SMITH in Mont Tremblant

## A conflict of evidence

The handwritten note in the stenographic notebook was one of many routine entries scrawled in cryptic shorthand language. But it was singled out for special attention last week before a judicial inquiry in Toronto into conflict-of-interest allegations against former federal industry minister Sinclair Stevens. Dated April 3 and headed "note to you," the notation outlined a proposed business transaction involving debt, bonds and corporate ownership shares. It was jotted down by Shirley Walker, who served Stevens as both private secretary and a government aide in Toronto. The entry, declared inquiry counsel David Scott, appeared to show that Stevens—in violation of federal conflict-of-interest guidelines—instructed Walker to pass advice to his wife, Nancy, on a proposed reorganization of a company held for Stevens in a blind trust.

Walker was the main witness during the third week—in she was in the first two weeks—of the inquiry's public hearings before Ontario High Court Judge William Parker. The inquiry was appointed after Stevens resigned from the cabinet as May 12 amid con-

trovery over transactions, including a \$2.6-million loss obtained by his wife from a co-founder of a firm that received grants from Stevens's ministry. Last week Walker agreed that the notation in the notebook entry under examination referred to Stevens and his wife. But she said that it had simply been a reminder for Stevens to telephone Nancy.

### *A notation and a proposed deal were the focus of the second week of the inquiry into the affairs of Sinclair Stevens*

Scott claimed that a more logical explanation was that Stevens wanted her to tell his wife about a proposed reorganization of his financially troubled firm, York Centre Corp. That would have been a violation of the blind trust, an arrangement that prevented Stevens from having any involvement in his companies' activities while he was in the cabinet. Walker did not

fully reject Scott's interpretation. "I am not saying that it is wrong," she said. "I am just saying that it is your interpretation."

Another key issue before the inquiry involved a ministerial visit by Stevens last August to Seoul, South Korea, where he met with one of his firm's major creditors. Stevens's lawyer, John Sopinka, acknowledged that Stevens, accompanied by his wife and Edward Rowe, president of York Centre, met on Aug. 27 with the vice-president of the Haeri Bank. Haeri's Canadian subsidiary had loaned Stevens's company \$5.6 million in 1983. But Sopinka declared that there was "absolutely no discussion" of private business.

Sopinka, who has said that Scott, as the inquiry's lawyer, should be more evasive in his approach, claimed that Scott had put a similar question on the meeting in Seoul. Sopinka called Donald Campbell, an external affairs department official who was the Canadian ambassador in South Korea at the time, to testify about the Haeri meeting. Campbell testified that there was nothing said about private business. The meeting, said Campbell, was just "a courtesy call by the minister and of a general nature."

—CINDY SABBETT in Toronto

**You can't miss with the Silver Bullet.**





# A crisis in the Commonwealth

If nothing else, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe proved himself to be a master at absorbing abuse. Howe's second mission to southern Africa, officially undertaken on behalf of the European Community, was an eleven-hour attempt to persuade the South African government to move toward ending apartheid—or face a new barrage of economic sanctions. But most South African black leaders declined to meet with Howe, and Zambian leader Kenneth Kaunda accused him of "damning apartheid." Then, last week South African President F. W. de Klerk delivered the most telling blow of all. At a press conference marking the end of Howe's visit, de Klerk defiantly refused to make any political comments. "Let there be no question about it," declared de Klerk. "I can never commit myself by accepting threats and prescriptions from outside forces."

The failure of Howe's mission raised the intensity of pro-sanctions demands, and it set the stage for a potentially tumultuous battle at the Commonwealth next autumn, this week in London. At the centre of the controversy is British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The Iron Lady's first opportunity to sanction has already caused more than half of the Commonwealth countries to withdraw from the Commonwealth Games in protest (page 40). And last week the British House of Commons foreign affairs committee, an influential all-party body, issued a report warning of the possible "dismembering of the Commonwealth" unless Britain agreed to sanctions. Sir Anthony Kerwin, the committee's chairman and a member of Thatcher's own Conservative party, maintained that "the pressure now that Britain has put itself will be absolutely impossible to resist."

In fact, Thatcher said three weeks ago that if Howe's trip proved fruitless she would consider "contingency plans." But last week Thatcher met with her ministers and received their support to stand firm. Sources said that Howe's mandate from the European Community did not expire until September and that there was still a chance to negotiate an end to apartheid without imposing sanctions. "We are not in the business of sanctions," said a senior Thatcher aide. "It is premature to say new measures are being considered." However, other Tory sources said privately that to prevent a full-scale Commonwealth crisis at the three-day London meeting, Thatcher might agree to a limited package of measures—avoiding the most sanctions to move face. After Howe met last week with U.S. envoy Chester Crocker, there was speculation that Britain might join with the United States—which has also opposed strong sanctions—on imposing mild measures. But any action Thatcher takes would be more symbolic than substantive.

The seven-letter Commonwealth meeting is the sequel to a 40-nation

government loans and sales of oil. The leaders also set up the Eminent Persons Group of representatives from seven countries—Britain, Canada, Australia, India, the Bahamas, Zimbabwe and Zambia—to reconsider ways of ending apartheid. The delegates decided that if that effort failed—which it ultimately did—the leaders of the seven countries would meet again to consider more punitive measures. These included bans on air links and agricultural imports and the cancellation of all existing government investment in and trade with South Africa.



de Klerk, Howe rejecting threats and prescriptions from outside forces

meeting last October in the Bahamas. There, after intense negotiations, Thatcher pressed the other delegates to impose several trade restrictions on South Africa, among them a ban on



Anti-apartheid protest in London increasing political pressure for sanctions

multinationals formed to campaign against sanctions, predicted that full trade sanctions would cost Britain \$5.1 billion annually and put as many as 130,000 jobs at risk. As a result, British Conservative sources said, Thatcher was expected to consider no more than the modest list of sanctions proposed by the European Community last month. The EC has proposed a ban on new investment in South Africa, a largely ineffective measure because there is already a net drain of foreign investment. Also on the proposed embargo list were imports of South African coal—Britain bought only \$41 million worth last year—and iron and steel, which could easily be obtained elsewhere.

At the London meeting, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney intended to play a mediating role, as he did at the Bahamas meeting. According to aides, after completing his pre-summit briefing last week, Mulroney said he was optimistic that he and the other leaders could persuade Thatcher to compromise. "We did it once before," he said, "and there are certain obligations under the Commonwealth accord, and we think we can do it again." In Ottawa, Bernard Wood, Mulroney's personal emissary to southern Africa, added,

"It will not be enough for Britain to move a veto—necessary but" But a senior Canadian official admitted that Thatcher was far less likely to be influenced by Mulroney than by President Ronald Reagan. "The reality is," the official said, "that the only country that really counts in the U.S."

Still, Ottawa has a long history of opposition to apartheid. It was pressure from Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and other Commonwealth leaders that quashed South Africa's withdrawal from the organization in 1963. Canada has banned government purchases of South African products and imposed other symbolic measures, but officials say that stronger, considered action is now required. Mulroney reiterated that position to Thatcher last month when he met the Prime Minister at Quebec's Mirabel airport as she returned from a visit to Ego 86. It seemed unlikely that Canadian resolve would waver, despite last month's wavering over the decision to participate in the Commonwealth Games two weeks ago. But the recent sale of \$8 million worth of Canadian wheat to South Africa could undermine Canada's pro-sanctions stance.

That sale, said Liberal foreign affairs critic Don Johnston, allows Thatcher to say to Mulroney: "Here you are, prepared to compromise your rhetoric and principles for \$8 million—what kind of commitment do you have? You have no credentials."



Anti-apartheid protest in London increasing political pressure for sanctions

to say to Mulroney: "Here you are, prepared to compromise your rhetoric and principles for \$8 million—what kind of commitment do you have? You have no credentials."

British Tory sources said last week that leaders from Canada—as well as Australia, India and the Bahamas—would be satisfied if Thatcher agreed to limited measures against Pretoria. Zambia and Zimbabwe might prove harder to appease. Zambia's Kaunda has already threatened to leave the Commonwealth over the sanctions issue. But British officials said that neither African country wants to create a full-blown Commonwealth crisis. History may provide a precedent. In July, 1965, Kaunda threatened to withdraw from the Commonwealth unless Britain adopted tougher measures against the white-minority government in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. A compromise in which Britain agreed to cancel sanctions by the end of that year, and Kaunda backed down.

Meanwhile in Washington, Reagan is also under increasing pressure to impose sanctions. The House of Representatives has already approved a bill calling for a total trade embargo against South Africa. In a much-publicized address two weeks ago, Reagan tried to persuade the Senate not to pass similar legislation, and administration officials said that the President plans to renew limited curbs imposed by executive order last fall under congressional pressure. Reagan's position has been widely criticized by several senators, including Republicans. Many lawmakers were also angered by the administration's announcement last week that it had agreed to increase South African textile imports by four per cent.

At the same time, the Organisation of African Unity, compiling its annual report last week at Addis Ababa, condemned Britain and the United States—as well as France, Israel and West Germany—for their ties with South Africa. And in South Africa itself, 31 more people were killed in the nation's violence, raising the cabinet minister of the troubled KwaZulu province to a cabinet-level attack. That raised the death toll to more than 200 since the national emergency took effect almost two months ago. But de Klerk remained intransigent, virtually denying the need to impose sanctions and vowing that South Africa will survive. The growing issue is whether the Commonwealth countries and others will take up the challenge.

—BOB LEVIN with HEATHY MACKENZIE in Ottawa and ROSE LUTZKE in London

## Short steps to a summit

The letter reached the Kremlin by special delivery on July 26. Arthur Hartman, the U.S. ambassador in Moscow, carried the message from President Ronald Reagan to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev—an invitation to meet Soviet conditions for a superpower summit. The letter contained the first successes in Reagan's previously inflexible plan to proceed with his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), the controversial program for a space-based missile defense system known as Star Wars. According to U.S. officials, Reagan's letter said that the United States might agree to delay the deployment of space weapons. Gorbachev's initial reaction was only that "it sets one thinking." Reagan stressed late last week that it marked progress toward improved relations with Moscow. Said the President: "I am hopeful we have reached a stage where misunderstanding or suspicion in themselves will no longer keep us from our goal."

Officials said that a proposed delay in deploying Star Wars may be a major concession because the system is still

in the research stage. Last month Lt. Gen. James Abrahamson, the director of SDI, said any deployment is at least 10 years away. But an even more significant barrier to a Reagan-Gorbachev accord involves their opposing views over the legality of Star Wars under previous arms-control agreements.

Reagan's letter followed a new Soviet arms-reduction offer in June. That proposal called for a 30-per-cent cut in strategic nuclear weapons. Gorbachev also sought a 15- to 20-year extension of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, which limits the deployment of missile defense systems to two ground sites for each side and allows either side to withdraw with six months notice. While the precise details of Reagan's letter were not public, diplomatic sources said that the President is pre-

paring to delay deployment of his Star Wars weapons plans for between five and seven years in return for Soviet acceptance of deployment after that date and mutual cutbacks of nuclear stockpiles by 50 per cent.

The gap between Gorbachev's approach and Reagan's is the conflicting interpretations of the ABM treaty. In order to develop the Star Wars plan, spokesmen for the Reagan administra-



Reagan 'hopeful'

tion last year said that experts had reviewed the treaty and found that it permits the development and testing—although not the deployment—of lasers, beam weapons and other space-based antimissile systems. That reading was omitted not only by the Soviets but by some of the treaty's principal U.S. negotiators. Bud Alton Frye, an arms expert at the independent Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, said: "Why should the Soviets legitimize a contrary understanding of the 1972 treaty when it is in their interest to hold to the original interpretation?" On the other side, because Washington has agreed that the treaty

allows actual deployment of Star Wars weapons, Gorbachev's proposal to extend the ABM terms for up to 50 years would delay the space defense system for that long.

Still, Reagan's reported willingness to place constraints on the Star Wars program was seen by many observers as a modest step forward. But the action does not indicate that he is about to back away entirely from a system that remains the keystone of his strategic policy—despite growing dissent in Congress over its cost and viability. In a speech to a group of students in Washington last week, Reagan said: "We won't bargain away SDI because it is a promising area of technology that could release our world from the threat of ballistic missiles. We must continue our SDI program on schedule." For their part, the Soviets appear to remain just as adamant in their opposition to the plan.

Gorbachev made a peace offering on another front last week. He announced in a speech in Vladivostok that no regiments—about 4,500 troops in all—were being pulled out of Afghanistan, which the Soviet Union invaded in 1979. White House spokesman Larry Speakes dismissed the action, saying that smaller reductions have been announced in the past but had only amounted to routine rotations of



Pershing II missile: strategic offer

troops and had little or no impact on the overall Soviet military presence. Spokesmen said that "the only acceptable solution" was a timetable for the withdrawal of the estimated 120,000 Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan.

But behind the public debate, closed meetings produced hopeful signs for a follow-up to last November's Reagan-Gorbachev Geneva summit. Last week after three days of talks between Soviet deputy foreign minister Alexander Bessmertnykh and U.S. officials in Washington, agreement was reached on a preparatory meeting next month between Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. Moscow had called off a Shakh-Shevardnadze meeting scheduled last May after U.S. fighter jets bombed Libya. The September meeting, said U.S. officials, could set the stage for a Gorbachev-Reagan summit later in the year. But even if that happens, Reagan has said that not too much should be expected from the summit or from the resumption of arms-control talks in Geneva next month. Declared the President: "Our arms-reducing negotiations with the Soviet Union will not succeed overnight—they certainly will be a long, arduous process."

—DAN MEYER in Washington

# Player's



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INDIA

## Murder in the Punjab

It is an area of fertile soil, abundant water and mustard-green rice fields. And until the morning of July 25 the region around the town of Muktsar in Punjab state was also an oasis of peace, largely untouched by the religious violence between militant members of the Sikh majority and Hindus which has consumed the north-western Indian state for more than three years. But that Friday four young Sikhs on the morning bus from Muktsar to Chandiaria, the state capital, suddenly slipped out revolvers

pendent hand and have continued their attacks on the state's Hindu minority in an attempt to undermine Borgia's authority.

Punjab police claimed that the bus massacre was masterminded by militant Sikh leader Warman Singh, nicknamed the "monster of Muktsar" by the Indian press. Warman, released on bail two months ago, had been arrested in June, 1984, when Indian troops, ordered in by then-prime minister Indira Gandhi, stormed the Sikh Golden Temple in Amritsar and killed



Bus set on fire by rioting Hindus: a savage attack and an anti-Sikh backlash

and automatic weapons and ordered the passengers to lower their heads. They forced the Hindu driver to stop the bus on a side road. There, they pushed women and children off the bus—the calmly walked down the aisle and calmly opened fire on everyone not wearing the traditional Sikh turban. Fourteen Hindus and one clean-shaven, turbanless Sikh died in the bloodbath. And the massacre led to a Hindu backlash against Sikhs in New Delhi.

The violence took place despite an accord signed in July, 1985, between the government of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and moderate Sikhs. That settlement resulted in Punjab elections the following September which produced a Sikh administration in the state headed by Chief Minister Bhai Singh Barnala. But Sikh extremists fighting to make the Punjab an inde-

pendently 1,000 Sikhs. Five months later two Sikh members of Gandhi's bodyguard assassinated the prime minister, provoking a wave of Hindu violence against Sikhs in New Delhi and other northern Indian cities, killing as many as 5,000 Sikhs.

Last week in Tink Nagar, a working-class district of New Delhi, Hindu women—some of them refugees from the Punjab—began a morning procession for the bus victims. But the procession quickly turned to violence as hundreds of Hindu militants used the occasion to burn a Sikh temple and loot and set fire to shops owned by Sikhs. As well, a protest strike called by Hindu militants left much of the city paralyzed early in the week.

Sikh, the government reaction was in stark contrast to November, 1984, when police stood by for a full 72 hours while Hindu mobs attacked

800s. Indian civil rights groups have since charged that the government is ungrateful and in fact directed much of that violence. Following the Muktsar massacre, however, rioting was limited because Gandhi ordered extra paramilitary forces to New Delhi, established a state of alert in other areas of the country and imposed a curfew in parts of New Delhi early in the week. As a result, more than 1,000 people were arrested and only six killed.

Gandhi remained strongly opposed to the creation of an autonomous Sikh state. Last week he declared: "The promise of a separatist state is not negotiable. We will not allow it under any circumstances." And he pledged to deal "extremely firmly" with Sikh terrorists. Indian Home Minister Bansi Prasad, a Sikh, also said that police in the Punjab had launched raids on suspected terrorist hideouts. But these actions failed to reassure many Hindus. For one thing, the Muktsar massacre took place in spite of a recent government crackdown against Punjab militants. In early June, after Sikh extremists murdered 12 Hindus, Gandhi ordered almost 3,000 extra paramilitary troops into the state. In fact, some experts say that the bus massacre was intended to show that terrorists could still strike with impunity in spite of the massive security.

Some Indian officials have charged that the separatist Sikh campaign receives active support across the Punjab's western border in Muslim Pakistan—an accusation denied by leaders of that country. In April Arun Nehru, minister of state for internal security, told the Indian parliament that the Sikh extremists were being trained and hidden in Pakistan. And in June Indian intelligence reports obtained by the Press Trust of India (PTI) said that more than 300 Sikh terrorists who had crossed the border into India had given themselves up and claimed that they had been trained in Pakistan camps.

Other forms of violence threaten India's federal system as well. In February, fresh outbreaks of fighting between Hindus and Muslims—11 per cent of the country's population—left at least 12 people dead. And last week, another dispute erupted near Darjeeling in northeastern India where Buddhist Gurkhas from Nepal, fighting for an autonomous state to be called Garikhaland, fought with police. Eleven people were killed. After the Muktsar massacre, Gandhi pledged to uphold Mahatma Gandhi's name of a secular nation interest of all religious groups. But within these groups, the vision, if indeed it exists, seems to be swiftly fading.

—ERIC SILVER in New Delhi

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## The voters' choice

National politicians were not even directly involved, but many Jamaicans registered the contents as a verdict on the economic policies of Prime Minister Edward Seaga. As a result, about 60 per cent of 950,000 eligible Jamaicans voted—an unusually high turnout for local elections—turned out last week to elect local executives

in 187 constituencies. Opinion polls held before the elections had shown Seaga's Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) holding only 36 per cent of popular support, compared to 68 per cent for former prime minister Michael Manley's People's National Party (PNP). And at week's end, unofficial election tallies showed that Manley's socialist PNP, with 57 per cent

of the vote, had won an overwhelming victory. Declared political commentator Carl Stone "in spite of Seaga's posture of being super tough, he has become vulnerable to the PNP's message."

For many Jamaicans the issues which caused the swing away from Seaga was clear: the Caribbean country's ailing economy. Since 1983 Seaga—a close ally of President Ronald Reagan—has instituted a radical austerity program, raising taxes and cutting public payrolls as well as subsidies on many consumer items. As a result, consumer prices rose 26 per cent in 1984 and another 29 per cent last year. And vital foreign goods have also become even more expensive because of the devaluation of the Jamaican dollar. In 1983 it was worth 41 cents in Canadian currency. Now, it is worth only 35 cents.

Meanwhile, the official unemployment rate stands at about 26 per cent. In Kingston's tough waterfront district, Rev Richard Heslin, a Jesuit priest, said that unemployment in his area is about 40 per cent. Declared Father Heslin, "It is getting worse. I just don't think there is the productivity in this country to support people." Seaga had planned to increase social spending in his May budget. But soon after that budget was announced, Jamaica was hit by a devastating rainfall which left many parts of the country flooded. Experts now say that much of that money will likely be used to repair the damage.

Plunging world market prices for bauxite, sugar and the bauxite used to make aluminum—Jamaica's most important export—have also undermined the economy. Bauxite production alone has declined by almost 50 per cent from 480,000 tons in 1980 to 240,000 tons in 1985, and the once leading aluminum industry has now dropped to second place behind tourism. And two U.S. companies—Alcoa and Reynolds Metals—closed down their Jamaican alumina extracting operations last year, leaving Canada's Alcan Aluminum as the only foreign alumina producer.

The bleak economic picture has further polarized politics in a country where elections have often been marked by violence. During the 1980 campaign that brought Seaga to power after eight years of Manley rule, armed supporters of the two major parties fought each other in the streets with knives, pistols and even 30-06 rifles. More than 500 people were killed in the violence. And because the unprepared PNP boycotted a snap general election in 1983, the party is not represented in the 80-seat parliament.

That lack of new representation, the frustration of the party's supporters

and the economy's poor performance caused unusual emphasis to be placed on last week's local contests. The ball setting was, by Jamaican standards, peaceful, marked only by a few isolated incidents of violence that left two dead and 100 injured at the polls. But in Kingston's slums, political tensions continue to grow. Neighborhoods are delineated along party lines and people rarely cross from one into the other. One 22-year-old known only as Chubby, who controls the south side of Kingston's waterfront for his party, said that although he would allow PNP supporters to live in his neighborhood, "you have to keep silent or we will run you out or change your mind."

Many members of Jamaica's business community appear equally polarized. Some of them say that the prime minister, a 56-year-old Harvard-trained economist, is an arrogant strongman. Others regard Manley, 68, whose eight years in power were marked by anti-American rhetoric, wealth-redistribution policies and close ties to Cuba and the Eastern Bloc, as a dangerous leftist. A few say that neither politician represents an attractive alternative. "Seaga is very dictatorial," said Ronald Somo, managing director of the Trifolgar Development Bank. "But Manley does not have the capacity to turn the economy around." Still, some businessmen add that they have been reassured—if not won over—by Manley's recent admission that he made errors while in office and his pledge that if re-elected he would be less pro-Cuba.

At the same time, many Jamaicans say that they are concerned by Seaga's pro-American policies. "Jamaicans are troubled by the fact that Seaga seems to be making a lot of policy statements from Washington," said one Western diplomat. Asked a Kingston businessman "Seaga has failed to realize that the anti-Cuban sentiment was not anti-Communist, it was anti-interference in our affairs. He is making the same mistake with the Americans."

Seaga does not have to call an election until December, 1986. But Manley, whose party has been staging demonstrations in favor of an early election, will likely use the leverage gained by last week's election victory to maintain pressure on the government. Many Jamaicans appear to share a tacit acceptance that the next election—when it takes place—will return the PNP to power. Sif Somo "If Manley starts talking anti-U.S., it will have a detrimental effect on investment. But I believe we have developed more state-manship than the rabble-rousing cheap politics of 10 years ago."

—MARK KURLANSKY in Kingston

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# The shaping of Limestone

**T**owering above scrubby spruce trees is northern Manitoba's rugged landscape, the 70-m-high, man-made hill is visible from two kilometres away. Around the sides of the banded mass of rock, huge trucks and bulldozers shift loads of granite that are being crushed to make concrete for the Limestone hydroelectric dam. When it is fully

included carpenters fresh from the building of British Columbia's \$2-billion Revelstoke dam, ironworkers who remember about Calgary's building boom and crane operators experienced in High Arctic oil exploration. Some, like Manitoba Hydro structures superintendent Dale Woods, who worked on the Long Spruce and Kettle dams built on the Nelson River in the 1970s, are returning to familiar territory—and

Bechtel-Kvaerner, and that the consortium's bid was low for the amount of work involved. But because there are so few heavy-construction projects out west in North America, the company has been able to lure hundreds of highly experienced workers. Efficiency, Picard added, is the only way to make money on a construction project in the 1980s. Added the 61-year-old native of Beauport, Que. "We are bringing in the most sophisticated, expensive equipment, and we have the very best men. All we can do now is make sure we get the best use out of both."

Premier Edward Schreyer's new government allowed Limestone's preliminary construction to begin in the mid-1970s, but Premier Sterling Lyon stopped it because of shrinking hydro demand when the Conservatives came to power in 1977. Construction started again last fall under the Paskley government, after the Manitoba Energy Authority signed a \$2.5-billion, 25-year agreement to sell up to 500 megawatts of Limestone's output to the Minneapolis-based Northern States Power Corporation.

Still, Manitoba's opposition Conservatives say that because Limestone will begin generating power in 1990—two years before the contract takes effect—Manitoba Hydro's customers will have to pay \$200 million a year in interest charges on funds borrowed to build the dam. And some economists have criticized the policy of spending money to increase exports of energy—and indirectly create jobs in the United States—instead of developing Manitoba's industrial sector.

But spokesmen for the Paskley government—which was re-elected in March, 1986, partly as the strength of its commitment to Limestone—say that the project will be profitable. Limestone will create 1,600 permanent jobs of direct employment and another 17,000 person-years in support industries. And the power contract with Minnesota, officials say, will net a total profit of \$17.5 million.

For Bechtel management and the workers on the Limestone site, there

are more immediate concerns. They are hurrying to reach the current season's goal of pouring 100,000 cubic tons of concrete before the onset of winter in mid-October shuts down operations until next spring. According to Bechtel's Picard, work was slowed by a colder than usual spring. "But now everything is falling into place," he said.

For about 250 married workers and their families. The two recreation centres at the main campsite—there is a third at Sandstone—include television rooms, a library, weights, a billiard room, hockey and curling rinks and a baseball diamond. "This is a pretty damn good camp," said William Leites, site representative for the Allied

is a fantastic job—the best camp I've ever been in."

The bulk of the Limestone workforce, which is expected to climb to a total of 1,600 in the peak construction years of 1987-88, has recruited a special breed—ironworkers and skilled tradesmen who have labored together on previous dam projects in the Nelson River. Proud of his unusual skill, Wright said, "There are not many people who can do it." He was also pleased when he discovered that Winnipeg's Hugo Ehrhart would be in charge of Limestone's carpentry shop. "He's about the best you'll run into anywhere," said Wright. He added, "Pretty near half the force in the carpentry shop I've worked with elsewhere."

Because of the abbreviated 6½-month northern working season, the dam workers have been put on nine-hour shifts that continue through the night under floodlights. At night the site resembles a vast movie set. Laborers and tradesmen work six days a week for 48 to 45 days before becoming eligible for a five-day rest in Gilman, Man.—50 km from the completion—by their point of hire for six working days off.

But while the hours are long, the rewards can be considerable. Wages range from \$11.40 an hour for heavy-construction laborers to \$17.85 an hour for ironworkers or \$20.29 for pipe fitters. Calgary's Barry Coane calculates that with overtime he stands to earn as much as \$1,100 a week. "If you're eligible for a five-day rest in Gilman, Man.—50 km from the completion—by their point of hire for six working days off."

Camp life does have its inconveniences. Two months ago there were only five pay telephones available for workers at the main campsite—now there are 16. And men are sometimes even if they are married—must stay in separate quarters if they live at the main camp. "There's too much segregation," said Michael Ostrerovich, a married ironworker from Saint-Basile, Que. "If you get caught with a woman in your room, you are out of the camp." But others express satisfaction with the arrangements. Said Bernard Polack, a carpenter from British Columbia, "This is not Lost Boy. It's a production centre—not just for the men, certainly."

To ensure that northern Manitoba's native people share in Limestone's rewards, the collective agreement between the unions, the contractors and



Picard: a remnant of highly skilled tradesmen and a controversy over native rising costs

completed in 1992, Limestone—located on the Nelson River 80 km from Hudson Bay—will be generating 1,280 megawatts of electricity annually, making it Canada's 10th-largest dam. Because declining oil prices have forced delays on other energy projects, Limestone holds a unique distinction: it is the largest construction job under way in Canada this year. And it is stirring excitement among workers from coast to coast. "Guys all across the country are dying to come here," said Barry Coane, 36, an ironworker from Calgary. "There is nothing else like it."

Attracted by the prospect of big paychecks and steady work, by last week 1,300 workers had already settled into bunkhouses at the Limestone construction camp and in the company towns of Sandstone, five kilometres away. They

feared. Said Woods, who will likely spend the next six summers working at Limestone. "These are extremely challenging projects. I like the area, I like the way of life, I like the people."

For the NTP government of Premier Howard Pawley, juggling activity in the construction industry has enabled Manitoba to win favorable terms from contractors. Three years ago Manitoba Hydro estimated that Limestone would cost \$3 billion to build. But bids were so competitive that the price has fallen to \$1.94 billion. The largest contract, for excavating the damsite and pouring concrete, was won last summer by joint-venture partners Bechtel-Canada Ltd. and Japan's Great Kvaerner Green Co. Ltd. Their \$200-million bid was the lowest of six offers.

Roger Picard, project manager for



At work on the dam, big psychos, bunkhouses and segregation of the sexes

At the same time, Manitoba Hydro has made determined efforts to create first-class living and working conditions. At the main campsite, about 1,300 workers live in 40 prefabricated bunkhouses. The company town of Sandstone has trailer-hotel accommodation

Hydro Council, an association of trades unions, involved in the building of Limestone. "When I went to my first camp in 1953 up in Skagit, B.C., we were living in tents. We have come a long way," added William Beving, a crane operator from Winnipeg. "This

the provincial government established hiring goals for various job categories. As many as 60 per cent of laborers, 68 per cent of apprentices and per cent of some skilled occupations must be natives. That last May Hydro's hiring manager, John Macdonald, said that the company had received 100 complaints when he announced that with natives comprising about 35 per cent of Limestone's unskilled workforce, hiring goals in many job categories—including laborers and apprentices—were being suspended for six months. He said that the co-chairman of the Limestone Aboriginal Partnership Directorate Board, charged that Hydro was attempting to slip out of its commitment to native workers. The most recent figures show that as of June 30, the company had up 83 per cent of its workforce to natives.

Still, the government has already improved on its record of the 1970s, when less than 50 per cent of the workforce on the province's dam projects, such as Jeepeg and Kettle on the Nelson River, were natives. Preferential treatment for native entrepreneurs has resulted in the opening of a native-operated post office, grocery and liquor store in Sledziwice. A new dam complete shortly grants water to native judges, suggests a pipeline, and the construction of Western Security, a firm owned by five northern Manitoba Indians based in partnership with the Saskatchewan Indian and Native Peoples Corp.

To supply native workers with the needed skills, last summer the government set up a training camp at an abandoned Inco Ltd strip mine at Pipe Lake, 30 km west of Thompson, Man. Nearly 1,000 natives have graduated from the camp with skills ranging from carpentry to machine maintenance. To instill the discipline needed to work at Inco's mine, life at the Pipe Lake camp is strictly regulated, with an 11:30 p.m. curfew and a total ban on alcohol.

The tough training appears to be effective, with both natives and non-natives praising its effectiveness. Native workers at Limestone, said Thomas Cummins, labor relations officer for Bechtel-Rompage, seem "to have more staying power; they don't seem to be dropping out of the workmen as much as in the past." Les Cook, a Minn. man from Thompson, described the Limestone training program as nothing less than an opportunity to "join the human race, to join the flow of economic life." Indeed, for many Canadian workers, a job at the Limestone dam is Manitotha's inalienable work is highly cherished.

## Tightening OPEC's taps

**F**rees has \$4,500-a-day suite at the top of the posh Intercontinental Hotel in Geneva last week. Saudi Arabia's minister Shuqf Alkhatib Zakl Yassari was seen again emerging has resumed diplomatic efforts. His aim was to try to halt the overproduction that has caused the recent spectacular collapse of world oil prices. Shuttling between his 18th-floor enclave and the week-punctuated conference room at the hotel's ground floor, Yassari, attended eight of the 12 other oil ministers from the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

ported by a slim majority, including Kuwait and Nigeria. But a handful of smaller producers led by Algeria pressed for deeper cuts to between 18 and 26 million barrels in an attempt to restore oil prices to \$30 a barrel by year's end.

But the Saudis said that OPEC's past attempts at achieving dramatic cutbacks have failed. Six weeks ago, at a meeting on the Yugoslavian island of Brioni, OPEC ministers agreed in principle to reduce output by three million barrels a day. But the members failed to comply with the quotas and instead have increased the market.

Despite the Saudi victory, the plan may be undermined if dissenting members maintain their high production. And last week Iraq and Iran refused to cut back their countries' production. Said David Johnson, an oil analyst with Wood, MacKenzie & Co in Edinburgh: "The deal hinges on whether OPEC producers truly honor the self-imposed restraints."

Many industry analysts said that they had hoped for a minimum reduction of three million barrels a day to substantially restrain prices. And the oil market's initial positive response to the crisis quota agreement was short-lived. The day after the agreement, prices for North Sea Brent grade, Europe's benchmark, jumped to about \$12.85 a barrel from \$11.70. But prices quickly resumed their decline, closing at \$13 last week.

Leaders of many non-OPEC countries had also expressed a desire for a tougher stand by the OPEC nations to restore prices. Last week the Egyptian government reported that its intake had dipped to an average of 40,000 barrels a day from last year's total of 250,000 to 300,000 barrels a day because of the flood of cheap Gulf oil on the market.

With the next OPEC meeting scheduled for September in Geneva, Hussein is expected to continue to seek wider support for his plea of moderate subsidies. "Theoretically, the Saudis could let oil drop to \$2 or \$3 [U.S.] a barrel and still be marginally ahead," said Jahmer, because Gulf production costs run as low as \$2 per barrel. He added, "For the rest of OPEC it would, of course, be death."

—THERESA THERON with PETER LOWE in *Boys n the Girls*



Toward freer markets and moderate culture

to agree to a modest, voluntary plan that would not curtail the cartel's output to 18 million barrels a day from the current level of about 20 million barrels a day.

Last week's meeting was the fourth time this year that OPEC's frictions members had tried to reach an agreement. And it was largely in vain.

And the Saudi strategy is the major factor behind crushing oil prices, which have fallen to below \$18 a barrel from more than \$40 a barrel in the past nine months. The Saudi strategy is to drive producers out of the market through overproduction and then force OPEC and non-OPEC countries to apply a price cap.

Oil and gas industry observers say that Yaman's aim is to gain a larger market share for the cartel.

be over. It seems to restore prices. Last week the Egyptian government reported that its main bid dipped to an average of 49,000 barrels a day from November's total of 50,000 to 52,000 barrels a day because of the flood of cheap Gulf oil on the market.

With the next OPEC meeting scheduled for September in Geneva, Sudan is expected to continue to seek wider support for his plan of moderate cutbacks. Theoretically, the Saudis could let oil drop to \$2 or \$3 [U.S.] a barrel and still be marginally ahead," said Jahner, because Gulf production contracts as low as \$2 per barrel. He added, "For the rest of OPEC in world, of course, no death."

—THERESA THERON with PETER LOWE in *Boys n the Girls*



P.E. i. terre cost about the controversy and a \$500-million fixed crossing

results built upon a  
wide base of rock  
fill which block tidal  
flows, imagine life  
and sea.

According to McMillan, none of the proposals would require federal resources. Each consortium proposes to borrow money on the open market, then lease the completed structure to the federal government for yearly payments of between \$30 and \$40 million—roughly the same amount that Ottawa currently pays to subsidize ferry service. In 25 to 35 years, Ottawa would own the structure and be free of all but routine maintenance costs. The potential saving, McMillan added,

Spring Islanders have the new plans for a Representatives from the Chinholm and have expressed the support for their cause by giving presentations at Rotary Club women's meeting held

under opposes a permanent treaty any it could encourage lifestyle. The style that Premier Joo need to commit himself ring to wait until joint studies on the pro- tected "So far they have so there is nothing to be yet," Glin said last

ed that studies of the mental and economic among are needed, and that to participate in the McMillan acknowledges the studies are needed. McMillan should mention on the subject of hearings or a referendum. "People was also a quality of life as the quality of life for a job?" Added McMillan to crack the essentialism—the cost of doing sandbar in the North. George Hawtin would prob-

Clones with  
C0120 as Characterization

## A bridge to the mainland

In 1873 Prince Edward Island reluctantly agreed to join the young Dominion of Canada. A key demand of the proud colonists was that the federal government establish "affluent

The first proposal came last May from Greenbriars Group, a consortium formed by Lavalin Ltd. of Montreal and the Ontario government. The plan was to build a 100-km-long, 10-m-wide canal at Toronto, a transit equipment manufacturer which Lavalin recently bought from the Ontario government. Under Greenbriars' original proposal, the canal would draw water from the Great Lakes and be heated through a tunnel, located 300 feet beneath the 30-ft-deep-ditch, by electric heat.

Two Nova Scotia businessmen, John Chisholm, president of Nova Construction Ltd., and Joseph Shannon, a contractor, are looking for ways to build the bridge. They own things a small road-builder's company did the original plan for a combined bridge-tunnel-tunnel. Shannon said that he did the financial analysis for the project and that he had a lot of money. He added that under the new, several large U.S. firms, including giant Bechtel Group Inc., of San Francisco, have offered engineering, technical and financial support to build the bridge.

Executives of Toronto's Kierulff Sons claim that their proposal for a bridge would avoid many of the environmental problems created by a tunnel.



Tapie (right) and his wife, Dominique: a nouveau riche style of capitalism

## A Gallic money-maker

Bernard Tapie is a brash, 44-year-old Parisian. He is also a self-made multimillionaire and, in a country that traditionally celebrates culture, sophistication and good manners, he has become the idol of France's younger generation. The star status accorded to the handsome Tapie, the country's first born-again billionaire, represents a cultural revolution for France. In a national poll last year of Frenchmen 35 and under, 68 per cent said Tapie was the man they admired most—while soccer superstar Michel Platini came a distant second at 16 per cent. Tapie's rags-to-riches career has put him in control of a \$1-billion manufacturing empire. He also owns the famed French bicycle racing team, La Vie Claire, whose star rider, American Greg LeMond, became the first non-European to win the prestigious Tour de France two weeks ago. Sporting the traditional polo-style designer of most French businessmen, Tapie declared the bourgeoisie, who live in the "Café"—or, in New York jargon, "chophouse"—is what I believe in. It is the secret of my success.

Tapie excels in presenting himself—in a revivified style of capitalism—in a country where revelling in making money has generally been considered to be in bad taste. His spirit of adventure and lust for wealth have attracted a receptive audience. At well-attended public seminars that he holds regularly around France, Tapie exudes energy and optimism as he uses some of his favorite expressions: "To make

money is beautiful," he says. "You too can win." He hosts a weekly TV show, *Antichip*, that promotes entrepreneurship as the key to success. And Tapie's recently published autobiography, *Winning*, and a second, *Success in Life*, have become best-sellers. Tapie says that he sees himself as "the French Le Baron"—the high-profile Chrysler Corp. chairman and bestselling autobiographer.

Tapie has already achieved his own dreams of wealth. He grew up in a working-class family in the Paris suburb of La Courneuve. His father was a pipe fitter, and as a teenager, Tapie helped support his family by hoisting baling sacks of coal. But he says he loathed poverty. With an engineering degree—he has never attended business school—Tapie began his career in management consulting. But when turned his attention to starting new companies. Although his first few ventures failed, Tapie persisted and in the late 1970s he discovered a special skill: buying bankrupt or failing companies and returning them to profitability. He started the bourgeoisie, who live in an elegant apartment in Paris with his wife, Dominique, and his three children. "Now I own a Porsche, a Rolls-Royce, a catfish, a yacht. I fly my own plane, I have a beautiful wife, I'm famous and I enjoy life tremendously!"

His holding company, Groupe Tapie, controls 48 firms with 9,000 employees in 26 countries. Last year Groupe Tapie recorded profits of \$62 million—

sales of nearly \$1.18 billion. The diverse conglomerate consists of six divisions: agribusiness, weight losses, industrial equipment, fashion, sporting goods and electrical facilities. One of Groupe Tapie's sporting companies, Loco, produces ski bindings and bicycle toe clips which are sold in Canada and the United States.

Tapie has numerous critics. Many labor leaders decry his habit of mass firings when he takes over a company. Dedicated Louis Dreyfus, with the Confederation Française Démocratique du Travail, the second-largest trade union in France, "Seething people, that is his specialty." But Tapie claims that he does "all I can see to do that they eventually get rehired by me or by others."

Other critics have accused him of questionable business practices. One controversy, dating from 1978, involved the self-proclaimed Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa, the ruthless ruler of Central African Republic. Bokassa owed four million in France, and Tapie flew to the capital, Bangui, to warn Bokassa that his debts were about to be nationalized. Tapie successfully persuaded Bokassa that it would be in the emperor's interests to sell them to him. In fact, Tapie admits that the empires were never targeted for nationalization. But he does not apologize for his deception. "The man was a fool, and the deal was legal."

Still, for many young Frenchmen, Tapie is looked up to as a winner and a rebel—a man who broke free from the constraints of a tradition-based society. Besides, Tapie says that he fears not try to be liked. "If you are rich," he says, "they will love you anyway."

—LOUIS WINSTON in Paris

## BUSINESS WATCH

# Dramatic rescues on a low budget

By Peter C. Newman

Before he starts demanding Dutch on our own fishes bones, Bill Vander Zanden, the new premier of British Columbia, will have to make a decision on the future of Ari Phillips, the province's commissioner of natural industries.

Unique in Canada and one of the few enlightened legacies of the Bennett era, this tiny but effective operation has saved nearly 2,000 jobs, mostly in the dispersed forest products and mining industries. Phillips, a former mayor of Vancouver and a capable federal MP, has brought such superb negotiating skills to his task that he has almost single-handedly proven that, if properly managed, it is possible to defuse the mood of bitter labor-management combination that blights British Columbia's economic outlook.

Just last month Phillips worked out an agreement allowing Clayburn Industries of Abbotsford, a brick and refractory products manufacturer, to stay open and modernize. That deal involved getting the Bank of Montreal to convert \$5 million of the company's debt into distressed preferred shares, persuading the B.C. Development Corp. to provide loans of \$2 million, obtaining an average discount of 38 per cent in liquidation rates over the next three years for the plant, and winning agreement from the company's office and union employees to take salary cuts totalling \$274,000 a year, as top of generous wage and staff reductions. Surprisingly, the only straggler hand-out in the whole salvaging operation will be a paltry \$33,000 in lost tax revenues waived by the province.

The arrangement followed the pattern Phillips started when he took on the \$700,000-a-year job in 1981. Instead of attempting to salvage the faltering provincial economy, he has moved into very specific emergency situations, seeing to with pragmatic formulas that new jobs without massive government handouts. By insisting that each partner in the endangered enterprise—management, labor, the bankers, utilities and sometimes municipal governments—contributes to the rescue package, Phillips ensures that there will be enough sustaining self-interest created to enforce a long-term solution.

"Probably the most vital element," Phillips told me, "is to give employees a stake in the outcome. It's the only

way to escape the 'them versus us' syndrome that has plagued this province for decades."

Phillips has been so successful because he is respected by just about everybody in British Columbia, having moderated Vancouver's downtown during his terms of office (1970-76) and been responsible for revitalizing the False Creek area, in that way making the site for Expo 86 possible (in his private career, Phillips built his investment



Phillips: a staphylinid approach

consulting firm, Phillips, Hope & North Ltd., into one of Canada's most successful pension fund management companies. An elegant 35-year-old with an unblemished political and business face, Phillips is currently being wooed by B.C. Liberals as the ideal leader for their hoped-for provincial revival.

While he has turned down more requests than he has accepted (because some unprofitable operations cannot be salvaged, even if they are restructured), the doors of his companies have

been pulled out of the hole are all still open and most are now firmly in the black.

His most dramatic rescue operation involved Sooke Forest Products Ltd., a small lumber mill at the southwest tip of Vancouver Island. The company was originally put together by Victoria investor Horwood Smith, who had the ill fortune of deciding to modernize its facilities just as interest rates soared sky-high, leaving his little company with \$54 million in debt to the Toronto-Dominion Bank. On July 8, 1984 Phillips was called into the local TV news-president's office and was told the bank was calling the loan that very day. The effects on Sooke were devastating. Although the mill employed only 400 workers, that ranked it as the fifth community's largest employer, and there were as alternative jobs in sight.

Phillips eventually put together a package that included a \$6-million loan from the Bank of British Columbia, \$2 million from the B.C. Development Corp. and a \$100,000 loan from the RBC. Community Credit Union in New Westminster. The most unusual aspect of the arrangement is that all employees, including members of the militant International Woodworkers of America union, assumed personal guarantees of \$150,000 each to be paid by a 30-per-cent deduction in their wages over the following three years. In return, their representatives have two seats on the company's reconstituted board of directors and they will eventually be given 32,000 shares each in the company.

At his news week of operation, Phillips can perform no great miracles. But the new premier's renewal of his mandate would at least send a positive signal in a province that badly needs some business indicators.

Meanwhile, Phillips is doing his thing with typical good humor and a highly unbecoming approach. He estimates that for the current fiscal year, he will probably see only half his assigned budget. With Bill Bennett set up on the grand-standing office for the Commissioner of Critical Industries, he allocated Phillips some fairly working space in downtown Vancouver, with facilities for at least 19 employees and a large boardroom.

Phillips has yet to expand his staff beyond one secretary and one assistant, and so far he has used the boardroom (furnished with rented chairs and table) only once.



The area where two boys found Alison Parrott's body; police searching for clues near the murder; calls for the death penalty

## CRIME

# The horror of child murders

One of the worst nightmares for parents—a stranger kidnaping and killing their children—seemingly materialized last week for a closely knit Toronto family. At 6:30 p.m. on Sunday, July 25, two boys walking near the Humber River discovered the nude body of 11-year-old Alison Parrott. Investigators said that she had been raped and strangled. Two days earlier the petite, athletic youngster had left her home in an affluent neighbourhood, about 10 km east of the heavily wooded riverside park where her body was found. She had responded to a telephone request from a man who said that he wanted to take pictures of her to promote her trip to a Pleasant, N.J., truck meet this week before the left home, Alison called her mother at work and obtained her permission for a downtown meeting with a man who claimed to be a sports photographer. Declared a distraught Lesley Parrott, a day later "She seemed logical at the time. She was excited because she was receiving publicity for all her hard work."

The discovery of the young girl's

body 30 tense hours after she left home resulted in calls for a return of the death penalty, intensified a massive police hunt for her killer and focused attention on other cases involving missing children. Such incidents are relatively rare and Metropolitan Toronto police Insp. David Boothby estimated that child kidnaping and killings committed by strangers account for about 30 of the roughly 600 murders committed in Canada each year. But an eerie coincidence existed: Alison's July 25 abduction almost a year ago another Toronto-area child disappeared without a trace. On July 30, 1983, nine-year-old Nicole Morin left her apartment in suburban Richmond to meet a playmate and go swimming at a nearby pool. Said her father, Arthur Morin, last week "I don't think Nicole suffered the fate that Alison did." But despite his faith that Nicole is still alive, police say they have no new leads in the case.

To help solve those and similar abduction cases Ottawa has established a computer registry of missing children

linking 300 police forces across the country. It will become fully operational this month. In addition, many parents have sent their children to attend summer camps designed to help them avoid potential molesters and abductors—a process known as streetproofing. Indeed, Alison and her eight-year-old brother, Colton, attended a day-long community streetproofing seminar last year. Child safety consultant Sharon McKay said that she generally recommends the courses, but she added that they provide limited protection against a determined abductor. Declared McKay, the author of a 1983 book titled *Streetproofing*, Grady and Creatively "Alison Parrott was stolen and luck was not on her side."

Police said that Alison's killer had apparently shadowed her for several weeks before making the persuasive phone call that lured her to her death. For one thing, Metro Police Chief Jack Marks noted that an unknown caller first confirmed the girl's Semawhills Avenue address on July 14 when he asked to speak to the Alison Parrott who was going to the International

Youth Track Championships in New Jersey. Marks also said that the murderer may have collected information on her training patterns and membership in the Tom Langhous Club, a local track club for athletes between eight and 18. The police chief added that the killer probably knew that Alison, an emerging star in the 800-m and other events, had qualified for the New Jersey event by competing in two Ontario meets held last month.

Alison was met at home on July 14 when an unidentified man talked to a babysitter caring for her younger brother. But on July 15, a man telephoned shortly before 11:00 a.m. and spoke to Alison. He explained that he wanted to photograph her and some teammates at University of Toronto sports ground where Alison trained last fall.

To Lesley Parrott, a vice-president in charge of broadcast production at the Toronto-based advertising firm G. Walter Thompson Co. Ltd., her daughter's request to go downtown—a distance of just four subway stops—appeared reasonable. Said Parrott: "I thought that several team members were going and they would be taking

publicity pictures. It seemed like something they would be doing. There was no reason to be suspicious." She added that Alison regularly used the subway system during the school year to attend French-immersion classes downtown. But at 6:30 p.m.—four hours past the agreed time when Alison should have returned home—a concerned Parrott telephoned the police.

Her call led to a massive search two hours later involving 150 police officers and 30 friends and neighbors of Lesley Parrott and her husband, Peter, an engineer. They spent the hot, rainy evening looking through the stadium, then vacant lots, alleys and ravines. The search, aided by television and radio appeals by the mother for her daughter's return, continued throughout the weekend. Then, two days after Alison's disappearance, the two boys made their grisly discovery. The little girl's naked body lay face down in the mud beside the Humber, about seven kilometres west of the stadium.

Police sealed off the area and assigned 60 officers to such tasks as searching all the garbage collected in the subway system since July 25 for clues. Declared deputy police chief Pe-

ter Scott, "It's a particularly nasty murder of a fine young girl. Most of the officers out there are married, have children and are working vigorously on this crime." As well, police have offered a reward of up to \$50,000 to help track the killer, and investigators even used a laser beam to scan the girl's body for fingerprints, hairs or other traces that might identify the abductor. Police spokesmen said that releasing information gathered during that procedure—which reports a fluorescent glow in objects—might lead the murderer to discard evidence still in his possession.

Meanwhile, the Parrotts remained secluded at home trying to cope with their grief as friends and neighbors brought them flowers, food and their support. A poll conducted by The Toronto Star showed that 11 of 16 Toronto-area federal MPs favored the return of the death penalty for premeditated murder and all but one wanted a free vote on the issue during the next session of Parliament. But United Church minister Carl Ballantine, who staged at the Parrott house the night after the discovery of the girl's body, said that instead of seeking revenge the family had shown "a deep concern for whoever has done this to their daughter."

Inevitably, the horror that engulfed the Parrotts recalled other abduction-murders of children. Edmonton businessman Gary Rosenfeld, for one, experienced similar pain on May 11, 1981, an RCMP officer told him that his missing 16-year-old son, Darwyn, had been murdered. The wife of one of the victims of mass killer Clifford Childs, who pleaded guilty in 1982 to murdering 11 young people. But Rosenfeld's personal tragedy has led him to foster greater public awareness of the 2,000 children who, police estimate, go missing in Canada each year. Most are runaways who turn up hours or days later, but, Rosenfeld argues, that is scant solace to parents whose children disappear without a trace.

And to promote streetproofing techniques, Anne Murray, who founded the Tasha Marrell Missing Children's Society in October, 1983, nine months after her six-year-old daughter disappeared. Declared Murray, who still does not know if her daughter is dead or alive, "You have to do the best you can to teach your children, but you cannot put a chain around their necks." Peter and Lesley Parrott already knew that hard truth, but even their best efforts were not enough to save their daughter from a determined killer.

MALCOLM GRAY with ANNE STRAUCH and JENNIFER BLOCHMAN in Toronto and investigation reports



Parrott: 'a fine girl'

# Revising the Titanic's popular legend

After 74 years of speculation by historians about the sinking of the Titanic, an American scientist may have shattered the popular theory that an iceberg ripped a 300-foot-long gash in the White Star liner's hull. Last week in Washington, geologist Robert Ballard had discovered many buckled steel plates below the ship's waterline, but "no evidence of any gash" when he explained the rusted wreck last month 12,400 feet under the surface of the Atlantic

poignant moments as well—finding a doll's ceramic head, a solitary patent leather shoe and a coffee cup perched on top of a massive boiler. And there was the historic approach to the stern where Ballard placed a memorial brass plaque for the victims who had crowded there in a vain attempt to escape the icy waters. Ballard described that twisted section of the ship as "Pompeii's Pompeii." Indeed, when he found a two-foot-long section of rusted cable caught on a camera plat-

eframe a picture-taking robot, from a surface vessel in order to map mountain ranges under the ocean for the navy. Pentagon officials say the underwater ranges could provide hiding places for its nuclear submarines in the event of war. Scientists and military officials alike are enthusiastic about the prospects for underwater exploration without risk to human life. Said Woods Hole engineer Stewart Harris: "You can see Argo-Jason 24 hours a day, seven days a week



Jason Jr. at work: 37,000 photos, problems with the robot that swims like a fish and no sign of a gash in the hull

Ocean, 267 miles southeast of Newfoundland. And he said 300 assembled reporters that when the 883-foot-long ship hit the iceberg on the night of April 14, 1912, it most likely came apart as its riveted seams. Said Ballard: "The amount of separation was more than enough to sink her."

With high-tech equipment, Ballard, 44, recounted the thrills, disappointments and findings of the 32-day expedition by a team from the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, a private research organization in Massachusetts. He said the wreck was in two huge pieces 2,000 feet apart with a field of debris between them. But he added that it was impossible to get an overall look at the ship because exploring is the gloom two miles under the ocean was like standing in a forest at night and studying a tree with a flashlight. He added: "You can say it is, it's great work." But there were

ferns after surfacing, he immediately left. It overboard. Explained Ballard: "We think it best to take nothing away. It should be left as a memorial."

Although the deep dives to the wreck have been awe-inspiring for Ballard, the real purpose of the expedition was to test the robot Jason Jr. for a \$10-million U.S. navy project called Argo-Jason. About the size of a lawnmower and capable of maneuvering like a fish, Jason Jr. had limited success on its trial run. Technical problems with the 250-foot electronic cable and the robot's electric engine curtailed the 31-day mission. Jason Jr. recorded only 32 hours of high-quality videotape—deep in the 30 fathoms, and only 37,000 still photos instead of an intended 100,000.

In 1986 Ballard plans to tow Argosaurus, a sub-like vehicle which re-

fers for weeks at a time. Going after Titanic is a very public demonstration of the system's capabilities.

By week's end, Ballard's dream of leaving the Titanic untouched by scavengers was fading in Austin, Tex., when Jack Grimm announced that he will make his fourth attempt in six years to find the wreck. Said Grimm, 50: "The sale of any artifacts from the debris field would be well worth whatever it costs to go and find them." But Ballard, who has refused to divulge the Titanic's exact location, noted that most of the chamber pots, plates and coffee cups littering the muddy ocean floor are from the third-class section. Dedicated Ballard: "The really beautiful stuff would be in first class trapped deep in the wreckage. The Titanic is preserving history."

—KEVIN MCANULTY and WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington



Chamber Refuse after kill, a campaign to shoot 40,000 seals on the east coast

## FISHERIES

# Gunning for a seal hunt

Ralph and Chester Refuse went seal hunting last week off the coast of Cape Breton with a rifle, nine bullets—and six reporters. Television cameras recorded the brothers and six other local fishermen killing 46 grey seals in two hours. The legal hunt was part of a campaign to conserve Ottawa that 40,000 grey seals must be killed to protect East Coast fish stocks from the worm-infested predators. According to former biologist Allan Ballard, executive director of the Eastern Fishermen's Federation, the estimated 80,000 grey seals along Nova Scotia's eastern coastline cost the provincial fishing industry \$5 million a year—\$1 million in damaged nets and another \$4 million in promising to remove 20-inch worms from the flesh of cod, halibut and other species. Worst eggs from seal movement hatch on the sea floor and pass along the food chain to fish. Declared Ballard: "Killing these seals is the same as poisoning rats at a dump."

The federal fisheries department already pays a bounty of \$25 for juvenile grey seals and \$50 per adult to registered commercial fishermen in Nova Scotia who kill up to 1,000 grey seals for bounty each year. But Ballard said he wants a call similar to programs used to control coyotes on sheep ranches. And he said last week's "seal event" was intended to show Canada-

ans that grey seals are not the same as the white hump and pups that were the victims of Newfoundland's controversial, and now discontinued, seal hunt. Instead, he says they are "great big ugly creatures" with voracious appetites. Some fishermen claim a grey seal can consume 40 kg of fish daily. But Guelph University ecologist David Lawpin, an authority on marine mammals, said the actual figure is less than 10 kg. He added: "This view that marine mammals are gluttons is simply not substantiated."

Ballard also pointed to a 1983 federal department of fisheries and oceans study that found up to 140 worms in each cod caught near prime grey seal grounds off Nova Scotia's Sable Island in Gaspé, Quebec, saying the solution to the worm problem is better processing. But Ballard said the federal government should lift its ban on killing seals on Sable Island during the breeding months of January and February. But in Ottawa, Fisheries Minister Thomas Siddons said he would not make a decision on a call until the Royal Commission on Seals and the Sealing Industry in Canada reports next month. In the meantime, Ballard says fishermen will use guns to control the herd until they get permission to eradicate the cul-

—KEVIN MCANULTY and DEBORAH JONES in Halifax

# Overturning a press ban

Last week night months after Parliament unanimously passed Criminal Code Section 483.2, the Supreme Court of Ontario has ruled against that provision which bans publication of details about police searches without the permission of the participants. In a 4-3 judgment released last week, Mr. Justice John O'Leary said that the new provision was unconstitutional under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms because it unconsciously restricted freedom of the press. Clayton Ruby, lawyer for the Toronto Globe and Mail which challenged the law, praised the court for being "sensitive to the rights of the press." And although federal and provincial government lawyers had argued that the section protected the innocent from publicity, O'Leary wrote: "The creation of a search warrant is in itself a major invasion of someone's privacy."

Last week's decision was the second defeat for the new law in two months. On June 23 Mr. Justice Gordon Borham of the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench ruled that the section inhibited wording that was "much wider than necessary" to protect police investigations and the privacy of those being searched. After that challenge by the Winnipeg Free Press, the Globe definitely broke the law by printing details of an Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) seizure from Bell Canada of records of long-distance telephone calls by Ctr Radio reporter Gerald McKeefe. The calls were between St. Catharines, Ont., businessman Mark DeMarco and McKeefe. The OPP was investigating allegations of illegal wiretaps by Niagara Regional Police. No charges have been laid. In fact, the Globe itself was not even charged under the law.

In his judgment O'Leary said that limiting the publication of search-warrant information could hide police mistakes. (A 1976 survey by the Law Reform Commission of Canada estimated that up to 50 per cent of search warrants issued in 1974 contained errors.) He said that to protect individuals should not have the power to prevent the disclosure of police misconduct. Said O'Leary: "We are fortunate enough to live in a country where police abuse has not been a major concern. Nevertheless, even the most diligent, unknown, and mistakes do occur." ☐

## PEOPLE

**A**s Britain's Prince Andrew and his lovely, the former *Star* magazine, embarked on a honeymoon cruise in the Portuguese Azores, the blaze of publicity that had surrounded their July 30 wedding quickly faded. But five days later *The Times* of London reported that the new Duke and Duchess of York, sunbathing and smiling, had appeared joyfully on the deck of the royal yacht Britannia. **Jojo Carrión**, honorary British consul



LaMond celebrating his "landing on the moon"

to the Azores, told *The Times* that the couple had been witnessing an isolated beach and had "very much enjoyed the cruise."

**H**usband and wife folk-singing duo Ian and Sylvia Tyson, who enchanted fans in the 1960s and early 1970s with their distinctive harmonies, separated in 1975 and since then have pursued their own careers. But last week they got together again to rehearse for a reunion concert scheduled for Aug. 19 at Canada's Woodruff's Kingswood Music Theatre near Toronto. As they argued amiably over the half-forgotten lyrics and temporarily lost chords of songs such as *Ache Dear*, Ian said that getting back together "feels pretty good." Added Sylvia, 46: "I don't find that our staff has dated that badly." Declared Ian, 52: "The best of it stands up real good. And the stuff that doesn't, we won't be doing anyway."

**I**n the new film *The Day After* (R), Montreal-born actress **Colleen Dewhurst** plays a sympathetic teacher—

"the kind you hope taught your kids," she says. Over the years the Tony-award winner has also played a duchess, a former ex-slavotting champion and John the Baptist's mother. Dewhurst attributes her variety of roles to her refusal to be typecast. "The trick is never to choose a lady twice." Dewhurst, who played *William Shakespeare's* *Julius Caesar*, will make an exception for the acclaimed TV mini-series and play the

same character in the sequel. "We'll meet in Toronto in September to do the next four hours of class," she says. "Again, it's an incredibly wonderful script I love it."

**F**or the past 16 years, ex-Battle **George Harrison** has lived quietly on a 30-acre estate near Bletchley on Thames, a picturesque British town 50 km west of London. But last week the 40-year-old film producer publicly opposed a food store chain's plan to pull down a local movie theatre, the ornately decorated, 50-year-old Regent Cinema, and build a supermarket. Harrison described the plan as "Newellian cynicism" and declared, "These faceless people who make the planning regulations and those who give permission should come out of the shadows." Added Harrison: "Let us see the faces of the assassins."

**M**ichael Carbone, who plays rock star Elmore Gloom in the Emmy-winning TV soap *The Young and the Restless*, is often mobbed by fans when he appears in public. "I probably have never gone a day in the past six years without being recognized," he declared. "Now as we're taking a break from the show later this month to start shooting *Call Boogie*, a movie about a Broadway playwright (it is filmed for the most part in Montreal). He added that he likes young girls. "Because they're older," still, he said, "I'm 34, lonely and desperate." It is difficult for girls to chase him, he says, "because I have a fast car."

**L**ast week *Colorlines* **Greg Kinnear**, 35, became the first North American in the

Tour de France's 84-year history to win the 20-day, 4,300-km cycling race. But the "American in Paris," as the French press nicknamed him, had help from a Canadian colleague. Teammate **Steve Bauer**, 35, of Fernie, Ont., who placed 33rd out of the 132 finishers, assisted with blocking passers. Bauer: "I could have ridden safely to improve my standing, but I could not realistically have got even in the top five. So I worked



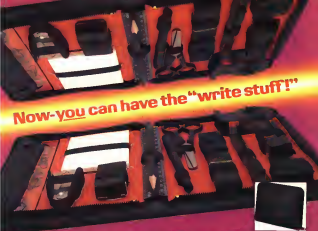
Andrew, Sir: twice on isolated beaches

for my team." But he added, "My team's missing." A visibly ecstatic Kinnear said that his victory was an unprecedented personal achievement. He added that it was "an incredible day. Looking on the moon was for Neil Armstrong."

—Edna by NANCY MEYER



Ian and Sylvia: reunion: "Feels pretty good"



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Canadian diving gold medalist Debbie Piller and Francesco Dondi, spectators

## Politics and the Games

As the last glint of stars of the buggies drifted over the far-west volcano called Arthur's Seat behind Edinburgh's Meadowbank Stadium, the electronic scoreboard conveyed an optimistic message: "See you in Auckland." But by the closing ceremonies of the XII Commonwealth Games last week, the future of the Games—and the Commonwealth itself—was as unsettled as the North Sea. The deficit for Edinburgh threatened to reach \$6 million. The athletes left the stadium with medals sharply devalued by a 30-second, anti-apartheid boycott. And organizers of the next Games returned to New Zealand with a vivid preview of the kind of financial and organizational problems they could confront in 1990.

For participants and spectators, the XII Games will be remembered principally for the international crisis that arose as an backdrop and for the individual triumph and tragedy there was England's Daley Thompson who won his third consecutive Commonwealth gold medal in the decathlon, Scotland's 25-year-old Ian Lynch who won the Games' first women's 16,000-m race, and 13-year-old swimmer Allison Hagan of Birmingham, Ont., whose two gold medals made her the young-

est champion in the history of the Games. The Games were memorable for Canadian swimmer Victor Davis for a different reason. The 22-year-old from Waterloo, Ont., won the gold medal for the 300-m breast stroke, set the 200-m event for which he holds the world record. Said Davis: "My apologies to Canada. Second is far better. I will never forget these Games."

Nor will Britain's prime minister, Margaret Thatcher. She was booed, and her car was splattered with eggs and tomatoes when she arrived in Meadowbank Stadium. Thatcher's staunch refusal to impose economic sanctions against South Africa precipitated the boycott. While officials from participating Commonwealth teams devoted not to punish the nations that boycotted Edinburgh, they refused to maintain pressure on Commonwealth leaders not to boycott the next Games and to reduce their financial dependence on governments. Said Michael Pennell, president of the Jamaican sports federation: "These issues are going to crop up again and again."

But for superstar athletes, such as Canada's Davis and sprinter Ben Johnson, the Games are little more than

a quadrennial stop on their annual round of meets and championships. Both left Edinburgh with grander goals in sight: Johnson for track meets in Budapest and Zurich on Aug. 13 and 15, and Davis for the World Swimming Championships in Madrid starting on Aug. 14.

In Edinburgh, one of the veteran winners was England's decathlon champion, Thompson. But the 28-year-old world record holder and Olympic champion also offended the Games' \$6-million sponsor, the Guinness company, by covering the brand name on his competitor's bib. When the brewery protested, broadcaster Thompson wore an altered version of the slogan on the back of his sweatshirt during his lap of honor around the stadium after winning the gold. Then, refusing to appear at a press conference, Thompson shouted: "Don't you overstand bloody English. I'm not bloody well giving Nave a good one off!" Said Canadian sprinter Angelika Ivanenko, who won the gold medal for the 200 m: "He is a great athlete, but he's not my hero. He is not anybody's hero."

In contrast, Davis was a model of diplomacy—despite his surprising loss, the first since 1983, and in contrast to his chair-lucking in 1982 in front of Queen Elizabeth at the Brisbane Games. In Edinburgh, after losing to Soviet-born Adrian Moorhouse, Davis handed the shyly delighted Queen a Team Canada Fender. And later at a press conference he said: "To me, a great champion is one who can win, take a loss and come back and win. I hope I can be a great champion. If I don't win at the Worlds, I'm not coming home."

Johnson said he planned to make an assault on the 100-m sprint world record of 9.99 seconds later this month. The wet Scottish weather and the lack of competition caused by the boycott conspired against Johnson at the Games. Said the 26-year-old Jamaican-born sprinter, who ran the second-fastest 100-m ever in Moscow last month: "The competition and the weather will be better in Eugene. I think I can break the record this summer." Looking to the future in Auckland, officials of the Commonwealth Games Federation had less reason to boast. Try as they might, keeping police off the track and the field will be an Olympic feat.

—RAL QUINN in Edinburgh

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O'Connell, Phoenix, Wheaten, Feldman: laughing attempts to act like adults

#### FILMS

## When boys will be boys

STAND BY ME  
Directed by Rob Reiner

**S**tand by Me is a bittersweet recollection of boyhood in its broadest sense. Stephen King's novella *The Body*, as everyone is aware, has focused on four boys who find a missing body. Although a similar mood often permeates the film, it is not the predominant one. An assured and audibly reflective adult voice (Richard Dreyfuss) narrates. He is the grown-up Gordie, writing a novel about his experiences with his three childhood friends. And *Stand by Me* is his tribute to early friendship—a theme that reverberates in the film, and in real singer Ben E. King's 1960 song of the same name.

Relationships among the four center around a range of boyhood bonding. The young Gordie (Wil Wheaton) is the sensitive one. He feels abandoned by his father and mourns his football star brother (John Cusack), after the athlete dies in an accident. Gordie's best friend, the smart and capable Chris (River Phoenix), is unable to escape his lower-class origins. Teddy (Corey Feldman), whose violent father lives in a mental institution, is full of pride and hurt. And Vern (Derry O'Connell) carries his own cross: a fat boy, he is the butt of jokes. Each of the four clings to friendship's bonds.

When Vern overhears his big brother talking about a missing boy who was hit by a train and throws into the woods, he and his friends plan to find the body and become heroes. Trouble starts when a pair of tough kids led by Ace (Kiefer Sutherland) decide that they want the glory too. After Chris steals his father's loaded gun to pursue the hunt, a sense of dark foreboding sets in.

Director Rob Reiner and his screenwriters, Raymond Gibben and Brian A. Evans, skillfully shift the tone between drama and comedy. And when the boys argue, play cards and smoke cigarettes, their attempts to act like adults are funny and touching. "There's nothing like a cigarette after a meal," declares the youthful Vern. "Yes," replies Gordie. "I cherish those moments."

Said by Me captures, as few movies have, the magic, joy and pain of growing up. Under Reiner's gentle handling, the four lead actors give performances that are marvels of naturalism. When the adult Gordie types the final line of his book about that pivotal period, the tone turns elegiac: "I never had any friends later on like the ones I had when I was 12. Jesus, does anyone?" As a poignant remembrance of things past, *Stand by Me* stands in a class by itself.

—LAURENCE OTTOLIO

## The sins of the father

NOTHING IN COMMON  
Directed by Gerry Marshall

**F**ew movies can serve two masters. Nothing in Common sizes up frenetic comedy and poignant drama and falls short of both. Tom Hanks plays David Bauer, a womanizing Chicago advertising executive who has just been named creative director of his high-powered agency. Bauer is a kupper-than-thou individual who says that his reason for driving a Jeep is, "I look good in it." But one night his giddy, adrenaline-fueled rush up the corporate ladder is interrupted by a phone call from a non-stranger: his father, Max Bauer (Jackie Gleason) has called to say that David's mother has moved out after 36 years of marriage. David, who has been too busy with his career to have much time for his family, is then forced to become a surrogate father to both parents. He realizes that he learned to be indifferent to his family from his father, a parent alienated with a taste for fast women and loose women.

The domestic crisis happens at the worst possible time for David. He is chasing a major new advertising account with an airline while pursuing a headstrong romance with the airline owner's cocaine-addicted daughter, Cheryl Ann Worke (Sela Ward). But Hanks, saddled with a script that forces him alternately to assume manic glibness and gregarious sensitivity, is affricately confident and unconvincing.

For his part, Gleason manages to transcend the vapors of the postmodern script by writers Rick Finkel and Michael Fromberger. Resisting the temptation to overact, Gleason brings credibility to the poorly conceived role of a man, overborn beer who is humanized by his loving beliefs. The film's star saving grace is supporting player Glenn Close, who is superb as a hypertechnical advertising executive obsessed by his hideouts.

Director Gerry Marshall's sitcom background, as master of *Happy Days* and *Laverne & Shirley*, is much in evidence. Indeed, the fast-paced scenes in the advertising agency have a certain amount of *Upstream* charm. But his handling of the domestic conflicts is heavy-handed and stale. In the end, Marshall's portrait of an advertising executive in crisis is as shallow as a cornflake commercial.

—EMILIA TOLINE

#### BOOKS

## Measuring nuclear might

THE MYTH OF SOVIET MILITARY SUPREMACY

By Tom Gervasi  
(Faber & Faber, 416 pages, \$26.50)

**W**hen the administration of President Ronald Reagan assumed power in 1981, it had, in the words of Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, "one overriding priority to re-establish the balance of

dissual, government and other public sources, is more a study of information and its misuse than of weapons or war. It strongly suggests that the Reagan government has persistently misled the American people—and Gervasi grows weary of the guilty details.

In 1982, Reagan talked of an "adverse imbalance" in strike capability and defenses and of a consequent "window of vulnerability." At that time, Gervasi writes, the United States had a "sub-



Winkler in Moscow's Red Square: about a "window of vulnerability"

military power necessary for stable deterrence." Now, a book that combines an impassioned plea and careful scholarship, *The Myth of Soviet Military Supremacy* takes issue with the idea that the Soviets have outstripped the United States. Author Tom Gervasi, one of America's leading defense policy critics, argues that not only is the notion of a "deterrence" morally and strategically bankrupt, but that the likelihood that the Soviets will ever pose a threat to the United States has been, in his country's favor. "I see a citizen who believes that our nation must always have a strong defense," writes Gervasi, director of New York's Center for Military Research and former army counterintelligence officer. "What I have found is that we already have one."

In two earlier books, Gervasi accused the U.S. government and military of deliberately understating the nation's might. In 1979 he published *Assault of Deceit*, a controversial look at U.S. armaments, and in 1980 he produced a novel, *Journal of Democracy*. His latest salvo, which includes 250 pages of appendices and notes from congress-

stantial statistical lead in quantity and as enormous lead in quality" over the Soviet Union. In fact, it is that same year public records which Gervasi quotes disclose that the maximum number of warheads that U.S. forces could deliver was 10,000, and the maximum that could be delivered by the Soviets was 6,000. The author contends that the ratios remain roughly the same.

Gervasi's book reveals how and why the administration communicated its misinformation and what the real costs to the United States have been. Gervasi reaches beyond the heavy, nuclear-age acronym of SAIF, SSALT and MRY to show that the credibility gap between Americans and their government during the Vietnam War was mirrored compared to the current chasm of deceit. With almost total control of the public agenda, he writes, Washington has taken every opportunity to ensure that the press and the public draw the desired conclusion from these lies.

Gervasi says further that the government's outlandishness began as soon as Reagan took office. In 1981 the Defense

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department, in the annual report, said that the United States had an advantage of 2,000 warheads. The next year, for the first time, there were no figures on nuclear warheads in the report. Measuring comparative strength, the administration excluded from its count U.S. bombers armed with nuclear missiles, because it claimed that they were "accident." At about the same time, the congressional budget office estimated that as many as 35 per cent of those aircraft could penetrate Soviet air defenses.

When the administration compares the number of aircraft available to NATO and the Warsaw Pact nations, Gervais says, "It counts on NATO's side only those aircraft specifically assigned to carry out nuclear strikes while it simply assumes that every aircraft capable of carrying a nuclear bomb for the Warsaw Pact will do so." He argues that the U.S. defense establishment misled Americans by speaking of the greater weight and explosive power of Soviet missiles, at a time when U.S. weapons designers had gone a step further, making more accurate, lethal, "maneuvered" arms.

Gervais also says that Reagan has oversold the worth of his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). The so-called Star Wars program, says Gervais, will increase soaring defense costs. And he adds that in the past five years those costs have turned the United States into a defense nation, forced cutbacks in environmental and social programs, weakened conventional manufacturing, and compromised scientific inquiry outside the burgeoning field of weapons research. As well, he writes, Star Wars "will not reduce the risks of war, but increase them... our children will grow up in fear."

But Gervais also at times overstates his message. He argues that Reagan and his officials are cruel and cynical men. In fact, American conservatives appear to believe sincerely that their initiatives deserve credit for keeping global peace. As well, even Democratic leaders have misrepresented the state of the nation's arsenal—among them John Kennedy, who was the 1960 election partly on his perception of a nuclear gap at a time when the United States, Gervais says, already had a nuclear capacity that would be adequate even now.

In half of Gervais's well-documented assertions are accurate, the Reagan administration has staked fear with an exaggerated presentation of Soviet might. Still, it is a tribute to the United States that the author of this telling indictment—and his publishers—remain at liberty to state their case.

—GLEN ALLEN

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## The eye of destruction

STARMAKEDDON  
By Richard Rohrer  
Ottawa, 212 pages, \$19.95

**R**ichard Rohrer's 16th novel, *Starmakeddon*, is a thriller filled with stereotypes, clichés and a right-wing view of the world. But in a literary form where action is everything, the Toronto-based lawyer and author has the requisite sense of pacing. As in his previous best-selling novels, including *Chinatown* (1982) and *Brishblaton* (1982), he blends actual historical events with rapid-fire fantasy. In *Starmakeddon*, the intrigue of the plot—the shooting down by the Soviet Union of an American Boeing 747 in the year 2003—eventually releases the real-life events of September, 1980, when the Soviets shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007, killing all 269 passengers and crew. That tragedy was also the subject of one of Rohrer's earlier books, *Massacre 747*. But Rohrer's fictional version of the incident transforms it into a catalyst that brings the superpowers to the brink of nuclear war—and that sparks a gripping narrative.

In Rohrer's imaginary future, little has changed in the world. Washington is populated with such familiar characters as an unrepentant secretary of state named George Skatton and a president who cannot remember the names of other world leaders. But in a departure from the current White House scenario, a woman has made it to the vice-presidency. Her boss describes her as "a pain in the ass" and as "opinionated bitch" 2011, when she dies in the plane crash, the president decides to retaliate. He is aware in this knowledge that his barely completed "Strategic Defense System" will protect the United States from the Soviets.

As Rohrer traces the escalation of the conflict, he provides only sketchy character development. He describes one general as "a real macho man" with "steely blue eyes." And women come in three varieties—what he describes as the "bitch-ass," the "sweet thing" and the hybrid "tough little lady." But Rohrer's action, jumping back and forth between the United States and the Soviet Union as the possibility of a global war looms larger, makes his story a fevered winter—and a good candidate for reading on a summer beach.

—BARBARA HIGHTON



O'Brien on the set of *John and the Myster*: A bankable professional creating rare pearls in a synthetic film culture

### ENTERTAINMENT

## Bringing Canada's soul to the screen

**T**he morning sun set through a rugged Newfoundland sky as Toronto film producer Peter O'Brien drove south from St. John's. He was taking visitors to the location of his new film, *John and the Myster*, starring Gordon Pinsent and Jackie Burroughs. Suddenly he glimpsed a disaster in Cape Spear. "For a few minutes we can be the entertainment people on North America," he said. Soon, standing on the promontory and gazing out to sea, O'Brien reminisced about sailing to Canada from Britain at the age of 12. "I remember being surrounded by the landscape," he said. "I have always been really impressed with Canada."

Increasingly, Canadians in the film industry are impressed with him. Combining boyish enthusiasm for the land with a shrewd grasp of both business and art, O'Brien, now 38, has become one of the most respected independent film producers in the country—a bankable professional who turns Canadian stories into world-class cinema. His elegant western, *The Grey Fox* (1982), won seven Genie awards and drew raves from international critics. And *My American Cousin*, in which O'Brien produced last year for a modest \$1.2 million, has already grossed more than \$1 million in Canadian theatres and opens in four U.S. cities next week.

O'Brien's work marks a national de-

parture for English-Canadian filmmaking. *The Grey Fox* emerged as a rare pearl from Canada's synthetically cultured film scene—the one from 1977 to 1980 when a federal tax shelter spawned a generation of producers who knew more about making instant deals than making movies. In an industry still dominated by producers who treat Canada as a bargain basket for Hollywood, he continues to devote himself to making artistic integrity a viable proposition. And, with a diplomat's cool dignity, he has overcome dramatic obstacles along the way—including the collapse of a financing arrangement for a film and being run over by a car on the same day. His efforts are finally winning recognition. This spring *My American Cousin* swept the Canadian film industry's Gemini Awards—winning six prizes, including best picture of the year, best director and the top two acting prizes. That flood of Genies noted by O'Brien's peers at the Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television signified their tribute both to his movie and to his approach.

Besides an ability to perform the film producer's basic functions—developing movie projects, finding financing for them, supervising production and arranging distribution—O'Brien adds vision. Toronto's John Hunter, who scripted *The Grey Fox* and has often worked as a coproducer with O'Brien,

said, "Peter is one of the only producers here who recognizes what is different in the Canadian people and wants to harness it on film." He exerts an unusually creative influence by working closely with his writers and directors. And Pinsent, who wrote and directed *John and the Myster*, as trusted O'Brien that he complied with the producer's requests to rewrite his script eight times. "He gave me every reason to believe he had a good creative instinct," explained Pinsent.

Authenticity is crucial to O'Brien's approach. His current project, scheduled for release in November, is a tale of a family displaced by the death of a company owner. Of the film's 23 speaking roles, 17 were locally cast, including Newfoundland actor Pinsent. *My American Cousin* was also faithful to its subject, a description of a B.C. girl's adolescence in the 1960s. Director Sandy Wilson wrote the autobiographical script and shot the film at the ranch where she grew up. Some of the dialogue in *The Grey Fox*, which dramatized the exploits of train robber Bill Miller at the turn of the century, was taken directly from court transcripts. And a black 60¢ revolver that the gentleman-bandit carried in the film was his actual gun.

O'Brien also has a reputation for investing his films with high production values. For three of his past four releases, he has relied on British's Frank-

Tidy, one of the world's top cinematographers, to bring a panoramic taste to the screen. Tidy was as eager to work with O'Brien on John and the Muses that he turned down an offer to shoot a Hollywood movie for twice the fee. "Peter is a very unappreciable kind of producer," said Tidy. "When things go wrong he manages to get things right without creating a lot of fuss."

O'Brien's integrity and politeness impress loyalty. But behind his home-fronted glasses, an expansive look, and an anxious brow betray an undercurrent of skepticism. "Peter's image is deceiving," said Hurlman.

"It's stuck with being a noble guy. A side of him that he keeps to himself is that he's really quite cynical."

During a shoot, O'Brien easily provides one controlled uncertainty. On location for John and the Muses in Ferry Harbour, 25 km south of St. John's, he frequently consulted Tidy about the island's mercurial weather, which changed more quickly than the cameraman could switch lenses. As well, he would drive back and forth to St. John's several times a day to take phone-inventions and raise cash for the crew's most paycheques.

The Canadian film industry is highly precarious, and O'Brien has built his career on a series of carefully calibrated risks. Until he has to start shooting a film before its financing is completed. "When you're making independent films," he explained, "money won't start flowing to the film until it is actually a fact. But to make it a fact you need the money. It's a Catch-22 situation. You have to prime the pump." John and the Muses cost \$2 million, he completed assembling that financing—a combination of federal and provincial funds and money from a Canadian merchant bank—five days after the shoot ended in July.

Both O'Brien's business success and his commitment to making Canadian films reflect his heritage. His family has been in Canada for two centuries and Peter was born here. But he and his older brother, John, grew up in Barrie, where he was at that time a career pilot with the Royal Air Force. "The feelings about Canada that I have now," he said, "initially came from going to school in England,



O'Brien, Wilson, Margaret Leung, John Widman at 1985 Genie 'nobles'

being called American because I had a slight Canadian accent, dreaming of a Canada I didn't know."

The family returned to Canada in 1928 where his father worked for Southern Power, eventually retiring as a vice-president. O'Brien was educated at Port Hope, Ont.'s exclusive Trinity College, defied—like his brother, his father, his grandfather and an uncle. He graduated, he recalls, "without the usual notion" of his future career. "I was a bit and about it," he added, "because in a school like that you are expected to join either the professions or the money market." He attended the University of Toronto for a year, dropped out for two to play guitar in a rock band and then enrolled at Boston's Emerson College, focusing on film.

Obtaining a BA in mass communication, he returned to Toronto in 1979 and gained experience by working where he could on commercials and movies. In his early production jobs he worked on features with such leading theatrical talents as Ivan Reitman and horror master David Cronenberg. O'Brien also produced *Love at First Sight*, with comedian Dan Aykroyd in his first starring role. But a measure of success came only in 1977, with *Outrigger*, a bitter-sweet comedy about a schizophrenic and a transvestite, on which O'Brien worked as an associate producer. The film cost a mere \$280,000 to make but grossed \$5 mil-

lion at the box office.

But as O'Brien switched into the fast lane of commercial film-making he encountered problems. In 1979 he found work as associate producer on a Vancouver film, *Mr. Pussman*. The movie's executive producers hired Hollywood's John Guillemin, the man behind *King Kong* and *The Towering Inferno*, to direct. To O'Brien's dismay, Guillemin ordered the Canadian script rewritten—"Americanized," in O'Brien's words. Then, the director told O'Brien at a Hollywood meeting that he had read a special-effects script for \$40,000. Recalled O'Brien: "All we needed was some rain, and we had a guy in Vancouver who was quite good at rain. But when I told Guillemin that, he suddenly went into this lecture about rain and said, 'These are the three fingers of death.' He threatened to throw me out the 26th-floor window. And he was serious." O'Brien left the project before filming, and the movie, which starred James Coburn and Kate Mulgrew, disappeared after a brief run—neither casualty of the marketplace.

In the middle of that frustrating period, O'Brien's career took an eventful turn. He met an inexperienced young Toronto dancer, Philip Borsos, who helped him forge a Canadian alternative to Hollywood. Borsos asked O'Brien to produce his movie, *The Grey Fox*. O'Brien had just married physician Carolyn Bennett. On vaca-



through, Hurlman: "every reason to believe he had a good creative instinct"

tion in Florida's Disney World, they decided that he should accept Borsos's proposal. That launched O'Brien as a four-year adventure in anxiety, the struggle to bring *The Grey Fox* to the screen.

The project quickly sank deeply into debt. One afternoon O'Brien received a crushing blow: officials at the Royal Bank called his Vancouver office to tell him they had turned down his request for a \$470,000 loan. Walking outside shortly afterwards he was struck by a car. Although he escaped with a relatively minor back injury, the near-miss helped trigger the paranoia of a friend, Vancouver stockbroker Robert Creighton, to sign for a \$500,000 bank loan. The money was enough to keep the project going.

Now, O'Brien's production company, Independent Features Inc., with Toronto and Vancouver offices, has become a cultural clearing house, receiving as many as 300 scripts a year from aspiring screenwriters. But as a broker of movies, O'Brien has to remain minimalist of practicalities. In producing *My American Cousin*, he actually had to talk its screen director, Sandy Wilson, out of a plan to house members of the cast and crew in tents in a meadow near the film's main B.C. location. He convinced her that a motel near Penticton, providing such amenities as showers, telephone and copy machine, would be preferable.

Filming for *My American Cousin*

began in the summer of 1984. That winter O'Brien became producer of *One Magic Christmas*, a \$18-million movie produced by the powerful Disney studios—and faced a new challenge to his vision of Canadian movie-making. O'Brien insisted that the movie clearly be set in Ontario, where it was filmed. But its director, Borsos, wanted it set in the United States, because its stars—Harry Dean Stanton and Mary McCormack—and its main potential market were American. Borsos prevailed; he included fleeting shots of Oklahoma homes and a U.S. flag at the final cut. He still claims that O'Brien "got completely caught up with petty Canadian issues." Despite their disagreements, the two men plan to make more movies together. Explained Borsos: "We know each other inside out. And he contributes creatively in a large way with subtle forms of suggestion."

Clearly, national identity is important to O'Brien. In fact, this fall he plans to shoot a \$5-million feature titled *Hollywood*, which portrays U.S. studios' use of Canada as an inexpensive backdrop. The film is the story of a two-hour movie, set in South America but shot amid fake palm trees in a Toronto winter. O'Brien's recent movies have provided generous and vivid portrayals of Canadian landscapes. They also reflect a personal taste for quiet drama and unaffected realism. Said *Grey Fox* writer Hunter "The

kinds of pictures he wants to make are often in minor chords. Yet he knows that films are basically popular and reaffirming."

The final scene of *John and the Muses* shows the protagonists looking forward to a new life on a large carrier, their two-story frame house from an outpost village into St. John's harbor. The film-makers had been working on costumes for the scene, but the allotted day brought cloud and drizzle. They shot anyway; the bus-loads O'Brien was determined to meet schedules and budgets. But as a filmmaker, he could also see how adversity might be turned to his advantage: the weather, he said, added just the right edge of foreboding to an otherwise upbeat ending.

—BRIAN D. JOHNSON in Ferry Harbour

#### MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

##### Fiction

- 1 *A Perfect Spy*, by Correll (1)
- 2 *The Bourne Supremacy*, Ludlum (2)
- 3 *A Matter of Honour*, Aronson (3)
- 4 *Art of War*, Bradsher (3)
- 5 *Power of the Sword*, Smith (3)
- 6 *Last of the Breed*, L'Amour (4)
- 7 *130 Lake Mead*, Brown (5)
- 8 *The English Commandment*, Sanders (7)
- 9 *Wonderbolt*, Best (7)
- 10 *Lie Down with Lions*, Joliffe (7)

##### Nonfiction

- 1 *Waterhead*, Gedy (1)
- 2 *Fit for Life*, Diamond (2)
- 3 *Disarm and Demand* (2)
- 4 *The Extinction Diet*, Estlin (3)
- 5 *999 Best Companies to Work for in Canada*, Jones, Perry & Lynn (4)
- 6 *James Herriot's Dog Stories*, Mervin (5)
- 7 *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, Cooney (5)
- 8 *Callahan's Pounding Jack*, Bates (6)
- 9 *Insurrection*, Finner (6)
- 10 *Rock Wisdom*, Hailey, Hudson and Davidson
- 11 *Walters & Edwards: Letters 1931-1937*, edited by Blash (7)
- 12 *Person not seen*, —Compiled by Frances McNeely

# Fundamentally Lotus Land

By Allan Fotheringham

**W**hile Mounties, you must realize, is the sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll capital of Canada. The old resort 90 minutes north of Vancouver is the playground of the media, the scene of plastic shagging, the bar tables crowded out the smokers and the Technicolor wordies cavort stretch-past between. The bright sun shines down on the golf course with a backdrop of those towering blue peaks that are still, in July, topped with the snow and glaciers where Fort Selkirk conducts his summer ski school, his pupils arriving at mountaintop by helicopter. And in this serene built to suppers, the fundamentalist followers of Ronald Reagan demanded a celebrated seventh-grade dropout who dresses like a TV preacher was the man to lead ailing British Columbia to the Promised Land.

Bill Vander Zalm, selected as the new premier, is the leader of the non-sensu gauche. The young ladies from the tender sections of Vancouver who received the operations of the Zalm's rivals pruned about in designer Bernadette shorts, furnished with walkie-talkies and whistles, their sandals some imprudent and their gold chains discreetly gold. The troops of the Dutch (re)invented marched defiantly in combination cars didn't quite click, secure in the belief that to welcome recipients or stockholders were within their ranks and the work ethic is secure and acknowledged as the key to life. Europe-Land is now the grip of those who know what the handle of a shovel feels like and think there's nothing wrong with fatty deer denigrating from the rearview mirror. How many legends did Calvin Klein ever produce anyway?

They're here, quite the most annual premier Canada has produced since Brad Livingstone, in the exemplar of the phenomenon called telepathy. It is the politician who pronounces is ringing tones that he has principles—and if you don't like them, he has other ones. John Diefenbaker is famous for Allan Fotheringham at a seminar for Scottish Arts.

stubbornly running for office for years, defeated a half-dozen times before finally getting a seat and eventually a prime ministership. But Dief had one issue, one belief—peace. Tory populism—and just one party. William Woodrow Thomas runs for anything, not because he cares for Canada but because he's ambitious, because he's got seeds another cast.

He's run for Parliament as a Liberal, he's run for the Liberal leadership of British Columbia when he didn't even have a seat—and a party end barely warm. He's run for mayor of Vancouver.



ver, even though he doesn't even live there. That's called brass, that's called chutzpah. He's impossible to imitate, the shy, handsome grin surrounding a set of dentures that calls into question his claim that he had to eat tulip bulbs to keep from starving in wartime Holland. His cronies with Lillian, in the last remaining 30-year-old female in North America who can wear a bra—she had in public and get away with it. I think even Biffa has thrown her away.

Vander Zap is a millionaire and, like Lee Iacocca (who was saved by government loans), can't understand why all the rest of us with a little brain—and shovel-work can't do the same. He is the Jimmy Swaggart of politics, the Oval Robert of Canadianism.

It has always been my belief that when the Zalm was made B.C. education minister by Premier Bill Bennett, himself a high-school dropout who became a millionaire, that it was a sign of revenge against all those

book-burner professors. The confirmation of my theory came quickly when the new minister announced that he was about to reform the B.C. school curriculum because he had come to the conclusion that high-school graduates these days "don't write too good." In-cynics ridiculed Mr. Woodrow Thomas, but one suspects that it was Mike Wallace Bennett who was giggling.

There are advantages to the open stupidity that this minister is innocent so often displays. His ostensible statement, the night the Parti Québécois was elected (he was a minister of the Crown at the time), that he didn't care if Quebec separated because it would get rid of that annoyance about the French on the curbside, buses, newly altered nature. Consider—it is intended here—as to how many nuts and screwballs there really were in the country. And those who cared had better buckle down and make some reforms and work to keep Quebec with us. As happened.

He is now to be the new premier, thanks to the help at the gathering at the top of the mountains of such names as John Reynolds and Bud Smith, neither of whom will be included when the Guinness Book of World Records includes a chapter on ethics and principles in that section. He has among his flock such as leadership rival Bob Weir, who announced he stood for "Jude-Christian" standards. A minister from religion, you will agree.

Such companies and such a distinguished background as such as that owned by Vander Zalm are useful in signaling to the public that they had better rise out of their slush and buy some alarm clocks as for their future. A man, now the premier of the third-largest province, who sang a song about the "frog" (Alouette) is Quebec and who wanted to present a shovel to every welfare recipient in British Columbia—presumably including the single mothers and the disabled—is actually useful. The Zalm, as he slowly grows up, and he grows every day, eventually be thanked for bringing his primordial approach along with his Hollywood smile.



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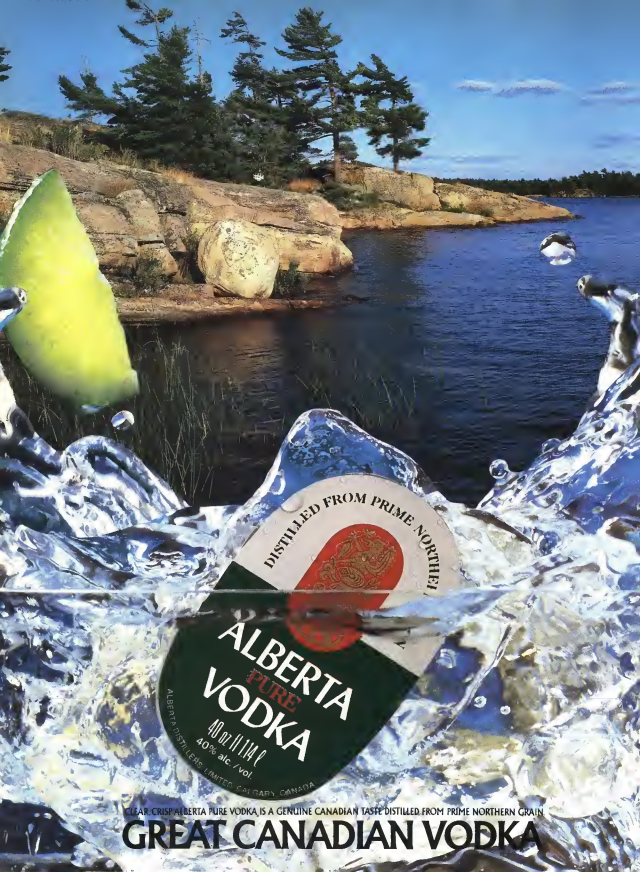


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